In Portugal (1912): Aubrey Bell's depiction of Portuguese society under the First Republic.

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Dissertação de Mestrado

em Línguas, Culturas e Literaturas Modernas

Setembro, 2011

Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas
Universidade Nova de Lisboa

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Dissertação apresentada para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Línguas, Culturas e Literaturas Modernas, realizada sob a orientação científica do Professor Doutor João Paulo Pereira da Silva.

Declaro que esta Dissertação se encontra em condições de ser apresentada pelo júri a designar.

A candidata,

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Declaro que esta Dissertação se encontra em condições de ser apresentada pelo júri a designar.

O orientador,

João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva

Lisboa, … de …….. de …….

Declaration

I, Katarzyna Benmansour (student number 28410), hereby declare that this submission is my own original work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by other person. Only sources cited have been used in this draft. The excerpts included in the text have been duly acknowledged and identified as direct quotes or paraphrases.

I warrant that this dissertation has not been submitted before for any degree or examination, or to any other university.

Katarzyna Benmansour

Lisbon, ……..

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratefulness to the people who have given me help and assistance for the study, working on and completing of this Master's thesis.

First of all, I wish to thank to my supervisor and mentor, Professor João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva, for his wholehearted support in guiding me throughout the process. He has made this experience challenging, unique and memorable. It was his helpful instruction and encouragement that kept me on the right track; his patience, unsurpassed knowledge and opinions on my thesis were invaluable. I truly appreciate your time and feedback.

I am indebted to many people, family and friends, who supported me, and always shared with me their love and kindness. First of all, my thanks go to João Rafael Morais, for his generous emotional support, enthusiasm and unwavering confidence in me, and to my mum, Maria Szewczyk, for her inspiring words and unshakable faith in my ambitions. My deepest gratitude also goes to my parents-in-law, Fátima Franco de Lacerda and João Rabaça, for their unflagging love and support I needed in a foreign country.

RESUMO

ABSTRACT

***In Portugal* (1912): Aubrey Bell's depiction of Portuguese society under the First Republic.**

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PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Literatura de viagem, Lusófilo, Primeira República Portuguesa, Estado Novo, Pitoresco.

KEYWORDS: Travel Literature, Lusophile, First Portuguese Republic, New State, Picturesqueness.

O objetivo da seguinte dissertação consiste na apresentação de *In Portugal* de Aubrey Fitz Geral Bell. Esta publicação, do ano 1912, pertence ao género da literatura de viagens. *In Portugal* relaciona a viagem de Aubrey Bell de 1911 através de Portugal que teve o seu início no sul (a região do Alentejo) e ficou concluída do norte (Trás-os-Montes).

Esta tese é o resultado duma pesquisa sistemática, qualitativa, baseada na análise de literatura. A nossa investigação tem o seu fundamento num detalhado estudo das evidências a partir dos textos literários já publicados. Os dados analíticos foram colocados em duas tabelas (as ocorrências da palavra «pitoresco» e «cor» em quatro publicações de Aubrey Bell).

A nossa intenção foi traçar a descrição da sociedade portuguesa por Aubrey Bell. Durante a sua viagem o Lusófilo conheceu o interior do país, as variedades da língua portuguesa, costumes, bem como muitos aspectos da vida portuguesa, que, com certeza, não tinha encontrado nos livros. O autor glorifica a paisagem portuguesa, sua rica flora e os modos simples da vida rural em Portugal. No entanto, Bell revela-se muito crítico de Lisboa que, na sua opinião, importa modas estrangeiras duma maneira demasiado leviana. Também estávamos preocupados em argumentar que a realidade sob a Primeira República, vista da perspectiva dum residente britânico, sempre foi odiosa e desprezível.

The objective of the following dissertation consists in presenting Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell's *In Portugal*, a publication from 1912 that belongs to the genre of travel literature. The travelogue relates Bell's journey from 1911 via Portugal that commenced in the south (the region of Alentejo) and got concluded in the north (Trás-os-Montes).

This thesis is a result of a systematic, qualitative research, based on literature analysis. Our survey was based on a detailed exploration of evidence from already published literary texts. Analytical data was planted into two tables (the occurrences of the word «picturesqueness» and «colour» in four publications of Aubrey Bell).

It was meant to outline Aubrey Bell's depiction of Portuguese society. During his travel the Lusophile became acquainted with the countryside, the varieties of the Portuguese language, customs, as well as many aspects of the Portuguese life, he had certainly not come across in books. The author glorifies the country's landscape, its rich flora and simple-ways of the Portuguese rural life. However, he proves to be very critical of Lisbon that, in his opinion, welcomes foreign manners far too eagerly. We have also been concerned to argue that the reality under the First Republic, seen through the eyes of a British resident, was always odious and contemptible.

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First Part

1. Presentation. General definition and objectives.

The following dissertation aims at presenting the works of Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell on Portugal and Spain, with special attention paid to one of his earliest publications, entitled *In Portugal*. Throughout the monograph it is intended to illustrate Aubrey Bell's wholehearted dedication to Iberian matters, as well as his outstanding and distinguished merit in promoting the Iberian Peninsula and studies concerning those areas in the English-speaking world.

Bell's depiction of Portuguese society has also been our concern. The author's perception of the Portuguese reality represents sometimes a bizarre doubleness of vision. Bell identifies the Portuguese countryside and rurality with the real Portugal, regarding simple peasants and countryside dwellers as true Portuguese citizens. In his view, the members of rural communities, unlike town or city-dwellers, are not educated by foreign fashions and modes, but simply born in the places where traditional and national values are deeply rooted. Even though the Lusophile admits their backwardness, poverty and their disadvantaged position, he describes poor villagers and peasants as content with their lot, and indifferent to the country's destiny. In the eyes of Aubrey Bell, the First Republic failed in many respects. However, it is generally assumed, in such projects as democracy building, (gradually and leniently) promoting gender equality and separating Church and State, the Republican regime was paving the way for significant socio-political changes that would help modernize the country, democratize education and regulate inequalities in society.

The thesis begins with a survey on the author's biography, and with an overall assessment of the contribution of other Lusophiles, his contemporaries, to the field of the Portuguese Studies. In providing a brief overview of the history of travel literature in the second chapter, it is attempted to situate the travelogue in relation to this genre. In chapter three, *In Portugal* is discussed in more detail, also with regard to its historical, political, social and cultural context. What makes this travel book unique and relevant for travel literature and for the corpus of British travel literature on Portugal is the extraordinary and eclectic mixture of personal travel experience, practical information for travellers, anthropological study, topographical characteristics and a literature review.

The author was one of the most prominent and highly esteemed English Lusophiles of the 20th century. Since his early years he developed a passionate interest for Iberian languages, cultures and literatures. In the beginning of his scholarly career, Bell built up a fluent command of (at least) three Iberian languages: Basque, Castilian and Portuguese (he also understood Galician, for he was perfectly able to read in that language), what allowed him to study in the original a wide range of books, articles pamphlets, periodicals and official documents, and to translate Iberian authors, enabling readers of English to get familiar with Iberian Literature. Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell was one of the 20th century's mediators for Iberian Literature, standardizing and popularizing it in his homeland and, at the end of his career, also in Canada.

During almost all his life, the Lusophile was an active correspondent to several leading magazines and newspapers. He cooperated with the following publications: *The Morning Post, The Outlook, Queen, The Athenaeum, The Times Literary Supplement, Revue Hispanique, Fortnightly Review, Bulletin of Spanish Studies, and Anglo-Portuguese News.* He also occupied an important position in the translation field. Some of the works that he translated include: *The Lyrics of Gil Vicente*, *The Relic* by Eça de Queiroz and *A History of Iberian Civilization* by Oliveira Martins. Aubrey Fitz Gerald comprised various literary qualities as a translator, critic and author that can be best illustrated in many of his publications: *The magic of Spain*, *Portuguese Literature*, *Poems from the Portuguese*, *Four plays of Gil Vicente* and others.

An important characteristic of Bell's writing was his fierce anti-Republican stance that would be largely manifested in some of his writings (*In Portugal*, *The magic of Spain* and, above all, in *Portugal of the Portuguese*). His conservative political inclinations, as well as his uncompromising attitude towards the First Portuguese Republic resulted in a few months' imprisonment in 1912.

Throughout his career Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell produced over a hundred writings on Portuguese and Spanish matters. Each one of them reflects an extensive knowledge he had acquired about these two countries, and also evidences the never-faltering fascination he felt for the Iberian Peninsula. He lived in Portugal for almost thirty years and only the concern for his family in the beginning of World War II and its aftermaths, forced him to flee for safety to Canada.

Unfortunately, earlier academic attempts to survey the work of Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell have failed in. The following dissertation is a partial study of Bell's work that does not aim at superseding a more comprehensive and elaborate future analysis. By articulating ideas and interpretations based on a close reading of some of his texts, we desire to promote a more comprehensive project that would seek to pay a tribute to this great Lusophile.

Second Part

2. Aubrey Bell: the author and his work. Brief summary of the author's biography.

Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell was born August 20, 1881, in the north of England, in Muncaster, Cumberland. His mother, Katherine Fitz Gerald, was of noble origin, for she was a daughter of the Knight of Kerry. His father, Canon Bell, was a master at Marlborough Collage, and later Dean of Carlisle, the head of the Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral.

At a young age Bell moved to live in southern Ireland and few years later in the Basque Country, in the south of France. This is where he got to know two local British residents, the Rev. Wentworth Webster, a specialist in Basque studies, and Henry Butler Clarke, a traveller in the Iberian Peninsula, both of who aroused in Aubrey Bell great interest for Iberian cultures, literatures and languages. Bell's affection for the Basques and the Basque Country explains his command of their language. In *The magic of Spain* he observes:

> There are few peoples more deserving of study than the Basques, and few countries more pleasant to visit and to live in than the Basque Provinces.[1]

Bell was educated at home, primarily self-taught during independent reading. Leopardi was one of his favourite authors, who shaped his nostalgic vision of the past. When speaking of a glorious past of the city of Évora, Bell quotes him: «Il rimembrar delle passate cose» (Remembrance of past things)[2].

Some years later, at the age of nineteen, Bell was awarded a Classical Studies scholarship at the University of Oxford (he earned his second in Classical Moderations and his third in Humanities). After having graduated, Bell started working as an assistant librarian in the British Museum, in the Department of Printed Books. At that time appear two publications of Bell, both under the pseudonyms: A. F. Gerald and Alvaro Giráldez (according to Bell's explanation, Alvaro resembled most closely Aubrey and Giráldez was a common name in Évora and was a literal translation of Fils de Gérald, Fitz Gerald, of Norman origin)[3].

A couple of years later he was back to the Iberian Peninsula as a correspondent to *The Morning Post*, a monarchist and conservative daily newspaper of London. His first experiences in Portugal were not the most gracious though. In 1912 he was arrested by the Portuguese police on suspicion of being a spy for the Monarchist reaction. His imprisonment lasted for several months, in the meantime of which he held a hunger strike for 24 hours to urge the prison officials to offer him food he did not have to pay

[1] Aubrey, Bell. *The magic of Spain*, London : New York: John Lane, 1912: 66.
[2] Aubrey, Bell. *In Portugal*, London : New York: John Lane, 1912: 45.
[3] Buchanan, M.A. "Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell." *Portugal and Brazil, An Introduction, Made by friends of Edgar Prestage and Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell In Piam Memoriam*. Eds. H.V. Livermore, W.J. Entwistle. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953: 16.

for. After this incident he was transferred to the military barracks where he would be far better treated and could keep some books sent to him for study. However, this was not the only episode wherein he found himself bothered by the Portuguese authorities. He had also been arrested several times in Spain and even got beaten up.

He found Portugal much more quiet and easy to live than Spain. Bell settled around Estoril, first in S. João do Estoril, and, some years later, in Manique de Baixo, and was baptized by the local peasants Sr. Alvaro of Manique de Baixo. Bell would always lead a simple and retired life. The author had set up certain routines that he would faithfully follow every day. He would start the day between sunrise and 8 o'clock in the morning tending his garden, and then he would seat himself in a chair contemplating and appreciating his work. In the meantime he would prepare his main meal by throwing various kinds of vegetables from his own garden into a large pot that would take hours in the oven before he would finally eat it at sunset. After the meal, he would take a few hours' *siesta* to be ready to work at midnight over his new book, essay or publication.

Bell was a keen gardener who devoted many hours per day to the practice of growing plants, flowers and vegetables. The maintenance of that garden in the neighbourhood of Estoril was his favourite hobby. The Lusophile also truly appreciated wildlife habitats in every place he visited. He even came up with the idea of publishing a work on the Portuguese flora, however, only a series of essays resulted from the initial plan in 1946 in the British periodical, *The Anglo-Portuguese News*.

In his love for gardening Bell resembled a historical figure, which he had chosen to describe in one of his books dedicated to seven Portuguese heroes, entitled *The Portuguese Portraits*. The man in question, Dom João de Castro, was a colonial governor, administrator and later the fourth viceroy of Portuguese India. He was also passionate for plant growing. João de Castro owned a *quinta* (farm) in Sintra which he would go back to many times in his thoughts living in the faraway lands of Africa and Asia.[4] Likewise, in the 1940s, living in Eastern Canada, Bell would remember with nostalgia and affection the time spent in Portugal and his garden in Manique. In 1945 he writes:

> Here both the climate and the people are more genial. Our house is large and spacious and very pleasant […]. The garden is full of possibilities and crowded with bulbs, narcissus, daffodil, crocus, bluebells, etc. But I find I can no longer dig for more than ten minutes at a time and the place demands the stalwart arm of our faithful João (who still writes to us from time to time) as the house cries aloud for two servants![5]

Bell spent over twenty years living an isolated and quite eccentric life until, in 1933, his health deteriorated and he had to be interned in the British Hospital in Lisbon. After a few weeks' treatment, he left the hospital engaged to a Scottish nurse, who

[4] Bell, Aubrey. *Portuguese Portraits*. Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1917: 127-144.
[5] *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, 25 Jan. 1945.

changed a little bit his bizarre ways, making him live a less austere life (he used to sleep on a plain couch with a wooden pillow) in order to protect his health.

The Bells (Aubrey Bell, his wife and two sons) lived in Portugal until the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1940 Aubrey Bell emigrated to Canada, leaving behind his impressive collection of books (sold to the Instituto Español of Lisbon), as well as many friends, admirers and a trove of wonderful memories. Aubrey Bell would always keep deep in his heart the memory of Portugal and wish the country well. In the beginning of 1945 he writes:

> I think Portugal will have weathered the storm better than most countries and will come out of it very well […].[6]

After living for three years in Toronto, the family moved to Crossways in British Columbia in 1944, where Bell found again peace and harmony. He considered that new place a relic of the past, as Victorian courtesy and customs were still respected there. Besides, to his great surprise and joy, he discovered that in their neighbourhood lived a large Basque community.

Bell would always avoid academic environments and abstain from speaking in public. In Canada the lack of his books (sold in Lisbon) and the inexistence of a book-buying public for his publications depressed him. Having sold the rest of his books to the Library of the University of British Columbia, Bell gained free access to its resources; however, after suffering a small accident at the traffic lights on the way to that library, he ceased visiting it anymore.

Bell lived a long and productive life. He worked as a journalist, correspondent and essayist to the following periodicals and magazines: *The Morning Post*, *The Outlook*, *The Queen*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *Modern Language Review*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Revue Hispanique*, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, *Fortnightly Review*, and others. In his sixty eight years of life Aubrey Bell produced over a hundred publications on Spanish and Portuguese societies, literatures and cultures. His mostly appreciated and quoted publication was *Castilian Literature*. Another work that proved highly successful was *Portuguese Literature*, which, according to *The Times*, was «the best and most comprehensive study of the subject that has appeared in English».[7]

In the literary circles, Bell was also famous for having translated a great number of books (almost all of the works by Eça de Queiroz). He was granted the title of Doctor *Honoris Causa* by the University of Coimbra and, shortly before leaving Portugal, received the Honorary Order of São Tiago from the Portuguese Ministry of Education, awarded to scholars, scientists and artists of high merit.

Aubrey Bell belongs to the group of British travellers who developed their interests in Portuguese matters around 1900, after a long hiatus of significant indifference towards this country in Great Britain, had worn off the curiosity and enthusiasm about the earthquake of 1755 and the Napoleonic invasions (1807-1811). Other Lusophiles of the period, fascinated with the country's history, literature,

[6] *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, 25 Jan. 1945.

[7] "Obituary. Mr. Aubrey Bell. Iberian Literature." *The Times*, 13 May 1950.

ethnography and ethnology were: Edgar Prestage (1869-1951), Rodney Gallop (1901-1948), Elaine Sanceau (1896-1978), Harold Livermore (1915-2010), Charles Ralph Boxer (1904-2000), William Christopher Atkinson (1902-1992) and William James Entwistle (1896-1952).

2.1. British Lusophiles in the first half of the 20th century. The significance of Bell's work in the context of Anglo-Portuguese studies.

Edgar Prestage, another Lusophile of great eminence and merit, was born in 1869 at High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, England. He received his education in Radley Collage and then in Balliol Collage at Oxford University. Prestage's non-imitative and self-produced interests mainly concerned Portuguese literary and diplomatic history.

Prestage first came to Portugal in 1891. He resided for many years in Lisbon, where he worked as a translator, literary critic, biographer and historian. In his first years in Lisbon he became a member of Dona Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho's literary circle, where he got to know Oliveira Martins, Ramalho, António Cândido, Sabugosa and other important men of letters of the period. At that time he translated various works of Antero de Quental, Camões, Garrett, Eça de Queiroz and others. He was also the author of a biography of the first Duke of Palmela.

Some years later, in 1907, he got married with the only daughter of Dona Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho, Maria Christina. In 1911 appeared the 11th edition of Encyclopedia Britannica to which Edgar Prestage contributed with seven articles related to Portugal and Portuguese literature. In the years 1917-1918 he served as press *attaché* to the British Legation in Lisbon. Five years later Prestage was elected to hold the Camões Chair of Portuguese and, in the same year, he got married for the second time with Miss Victoria Cobb (his first wife had died in 1918).

Together with his great friend Aubrey Bell, Edgar Prestage was one of the two most important Lusophiles of the first decades of the 20th century. Both Prestage and Bell were awarded with the honorary degree of Doctor *Honoris Causa* by the University of Coimbra and both received the Order of São Tiago in the recognition of their achievements as scholars and writers on the topics of Portugal. What the two Lusophiles had also in common was their disdain for the Republic and the sympathy towards monarchy and the Catholic Church. According to *The Times*:

> With his friend Aubrey Bell he [Edgar Prestage] began a revival of Portuguese studies which has modified many superficial judgments of the nineteenth century.[8]

Another Lusophile of excellence, Rodney Gallop, was a young diplomat and secretary at the British Embassy in Lisbon. He was an amateur ethnologist who travelled the entire country in search for folklore, comparing and defining such terms as Portuguese traditional music, parties, ceremonies and festivals, customs, superstitions and beliefs.

In the "Preface" to his book *Portugal: a book of folk-ways*, Gallop defines his objectives as a researcher and ethnologist. In his belief, due to the country's long and rich history, numerous and prolonged ancient and medieval settlements by various civilizations, Portugal possesses areas that are abundant in folklore and ethnographical

[8] "Obituary. Dr. Edgar Prestage." *The Times*, 11 April, 1951.

material that have not been described nor reviewed according to the new paradigms and methods of research.

The "Preface" to the 1960 edition of this book, written by his sister Marjorie Gallop, holds the following note:

> The material for it [the book] was gathered in the years when, in Portugal and elsewhere, the old pattern of life in the countryside was beginning to break up under the impact of modern ideas and the folklorist had to work against time, as feverishly as the archaeologist snatching his sherds out of the path of the advancing bulldozer […]. Preservation for the specialist is one thing, presentation to a wider public without loss of their authentic quality is another, and Rodney, whose delight in the songs of Portugal made him want to share them with as many people as possible, was much troubled by this problem.[9]

Elaine Sanceau, another Lusophile of the first half of the 20th century, also asserted a considerable importance on Portuguese history and literature. Sanceau, of French origin, was born in Croydon, in South London, England. She settled in Portugal in 1930. Sanceau produced various historical books, paying a special attention to the period of the Great Discoveries. She is the author of the following works: *Henry the Navigator: the story of a great prince and his times*, *The land of Prester John: a chronicle of Portuguese navigation, Indies adventure: The amazing career of Afonso de Albuquerque, King of the Renaissance, D. João de Castro*, *Good Hope: the voyage of Vasco da Gama*, *Captains of Brazil*, *Pioneers in Brazil*, and many others.

In her lifetime Sanceau was awarded with the Camões Prize in 1944, with the Order of Prince Henry the Navigator, the Royal Military Order of Saint James of the Sword and also the Gold Medal of the city of Porto in 1968, all of them in recognition of her service in the expansion of the Portuguese culture and history. She was a corresponding member of the International Academy of Portuguese Culture, as well as a member of the Institute of Coimbra and The Centre for Historical and Overseas Studies.

Charles Boxer resembled Bell in his engagement in various activities and hobbies with educational pursuits. Boxer was a military by profession, and a self-taught scholar, author, historian and linguist by passion. Boxer, just like Aubrey Bell, owned an impressive library. In the obituary of Charles Boxer, published in Daniel Carey's *Asian Travel in the Renaissance*, we learn that both Prestage and Boxer had been preparing the *Commentaries of Ruy Freyre de Andrade*, however, when Prestage discovered how well Boxer had done in his translation, he «yielded the floor» to the young army officer. The vast bulk of Boxer's scholarly output is of first importance in the field of Portuguese naval history, its overseas expansion, as well as the country's diplomatic relations with Asia. For his distinguished work in 1947 this great Lusophile was appointed to the Camões Chair of Portuguese at King's Collage without having a university degree, and ever being to a university. Charles Boxer, thanks to his self-

[9] Gallop, Rodney. *Portugal. A Book of Folk-Ways*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936: xvi.

taught Dutch, Portuguese and Japanese, was able to translate from and research in the formerly unexplored fields.

Professor Harold Livermore was another major Lusophile of the time specializing in history. His career took a decisive turn in 1947, with the publication of *A History of Portugal* that, according to *The Independent*, «established his reputation as the first Anglophone scholar to write a detailed and closely researched account of the annals of England's [...] oldest ally».[10] Besides, this publication also won him the Camões Prize. Noted for his prodigious and outstanding work in the field of Portuguese Studies, Livermore was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Prince Henry the Navigator, and made a member of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences and of the Portuguese Academy of History.

William James Entwistle was the co-author of the successful *Portugal and Brazil*, published in 1952 together with Livermore. Entwistle, just like Aubrey Bell, was a notable Lusophile and Hispanist. Entwickle's publications include writings on history, linguistics and literature of the Iberian Peninsula; with his major achievement being an edition of comparative works on Iberian languages, such as *The Spanish Language, together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque*.

Finally, the last but not least, William Christopher Atkinson, was made a Commander of the Order of Prince Henry the Navigator in 1972, on account of his considerable merit and services to Portugal. Atkinson's major contribution to British Lusophilism was the introduction of the study of the Portuguese language and literature at Glasgow University.

They were the leading Lusophiles of the first half of the 20th century because they had a broad understanding of the true character of Portugal and its matters. All of them promoted Portugal in the United Kingdom, expanding its literature, language, culture, ethnology and history with genuine and passionate enthusiasm. Bell, Prestage, Gallop, Sanceau, and others, recognized in their writings the country's past glory and, at the same time, believed in its present and future eminence.

Without any shadow of doubt, Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell's work is more extensive than any of his compatriot Lusophiles of the period, with regard to the number of publications and the scope of subjects embraced in the Lusophile's writings along his long career. Bell produced, edited and translated no less than one hundred writings that record his observations and reflections about the Iberian nations, their literatures, cultures, languages, histories, traditions, societies, politics, topography or flora. Aubrey Bell did not attempt to be a professional botanist though. Being always unwilling to adopt a scientific posture, he was an amateur for who botanising was just a relaxing hobby. Aubrey Bell would not engage with scientific and academic discourses. Unfortunately, in all likelihood, it might explain the very fact why he became unjustly neglected and forgotten among other British Lusophiles of his time.

He was a solitary figure and wanderer who followed the example of the Romantic travellers whose experience in the unfamiliar environment evoked perpetual

[10] "Obituaries. Professor Harold Livermore: Historian of Iberia who wrote the prize-winning 'A History of Portugal'." *The Independent*, www.independent.co.uk.

musings, meditations and reflections on socio-political events, geography or history. Romantic was also Bell's nostalgia for the past, the disappearing «organic society», rural values, as well as old-fashioned patterns and life-styles.

2.2. Aubrey Bell: Lusophile and Hispanist. Parallels drawn by the author in his analysis of Iberian cultures and literatures.

Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell can be well compared to a Renaissance scholar who, being highly educated, was also a man of many interests, talents and activities. This extraordinary scholar, translator, literary critic, journalist, editor, geographer, a skilful and passionate gardener and a keen excursionist in the Iberian Peninsula, must be, before anything else, seen as a premier Lusophile and Hispanist of the first decades of the 20th century. Firstly, Bell specialized in Spanish studies, and after some years of professional occupation, he also focused on Portugal and Portuguese matters.

During his lifetime he projected around one hundred publications dedicated to Spanish and Portuguese literatures, histories, cultures, literary criticism and even geography (always spoken of in his travelogues). Even though we have to consider him a scholar dedicated to both Iberian countries, his commitment was not equal; with time Bell became a natural and convinced Lusophile, who, thanks to his singular and penetrating insight into Portuguese character, his firsthand knowledge of Portuguese literature, history, customs and traditions, as well as his empirical observation of the realm of the Portuguese everyday life (due to the permanent residence in this country), was able to call the attention of his compatriots to this small Iberian country and assert the position of its literature in the European literary framework.

Out of fifty publications[11] of Bell's authorship, translation or rendering, available in libraries and catalogues of various libraries spread worldwide twenty nine deal with Portugal, its literature, thought, history and countryside, eighteen are pertinent to Spanish matters (including all the regions and languages), one describes the history of Iberian Civilization, one analyses *cantigas de amigo* that belong to medieval lyric poetry of both Galicia and Portugal, and, finally, one is dedicated to four poets of the Renaissance: Ronsard, Camões, Luis de León and Spencer. It has been inevitable for the expert in Spanish and Portuguese studies to draw parallels between the two Iberian countries, as the cultures of these two countries have been largely influenced by their proximity, mutual isolation or background; these aspects have been considered by Aubrey Bell in his publications, such as: *In Portugal*, *Portugal of the Portuguese*, *Spanish Galicia* or *A Pilgrim in Spain*.

Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell promoted in his writings the myth of the South, depicting both Spain and Portugal as two remnants of a precapitalist era, with an underdeveloped society, old tradition, antiquated culture, relations, modes and ways of life. He saw civilization and industry as a threat to human liberty, ancient customs, old-standing traditions, as well as the integrity of each nation. Bell would go against the tide of history, back to the times in which travellers used to go on foot, through a desolate country, like vagabonds. It is true to say, though, that defending that reality, Bell,

[11] Vide final bibliography.

beguiled with fantasies and illusions about real life around him, would justify socioeconomic backwardness, illiteracy and poverty.[12]

Bell and Prestage were the first scholars in the 20th century to have largely contributed to the rediscovery of Iberian literatures, treated till then by many as subsidiary and secondary. Bell was a foreigner, an outsider, who always advocated in favour of Iberian literature; according to César Domínguez, Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell could not «help seeing space and those who inhabit it through literature».[13] This opinion is confirmed by numerous citations from Iberian Literature provided by Bell in all of the chapters of his travelogues (*In Portugal* and *Spanish Galicia*). In the opinion of Malcolm Kevin Read, Aubrey Bell belongs to those «early Hispanists», «mystics who worshipped before the monuments of the past, the most notable of which is Literature».[14]

For Bell the notion of space, distance and geography was crucial to his understanding of Iberian peoples and their literatures. Spanish literature, in Bell's view, is, just like the country's territory, vast, for it embraces many peoples, regions, dialects and themes. Although, he admits, some writers and poets would imitate great Italian and French masters, «in its many masterpieces it has a flavour of the soil, a local colouring that it is all its own».[15] Portuguese literature, on the other hand, unlike its small territory, is extensive, rich and complete. Aubrey Bell asserts, «Portuguese literature is the greatest that a small country has produced, except for Ancient Greece».[16]

Some of Bell's publications and opinions continue valid and still wield some influence in the field of literature, literary criticism and transla

, to Antônio Figueiredo, «indispensable».[17] The same book, in the opinion of Dopico Black, «remains the authoritative biography on Fray Luis»[18], and *Portuguese Literature* is, according to Dilevko, Dali and Garbutt, «still considered a classic of the field and [...] is highly recommended for its erudite analysis of literary movements and writers from the period 1185-1910».[19] Moreover, many of Aubrey Bell's translations continued in use for many years and were largely

[12] Read, Malcolm K. *Language, text, subject: a critique of Hispanism*. West Lafayette: Purdue Research Foundation, 1992: 180.

[13] Aseguinolaza, Fernando Cabo, Anxo Abuín Gonzalez and César Domínguez. *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula* I. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010: 63.

[14] Read, Malcolm K. *Op. Cit*., p. 179.

[15] Bell, Aubrey. (1912b), *Op. Cit.*, p. 142.

[16] Bell, Aubrey. *Alguns aspectos da literatura portuguesa*. Trans. Agostinho de Campos. Paris-London: Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand, 1924: 23.

[17] Figueiredo, Luiz Antônio de. *Antologia poética de Frei Luis de León*. São Paulo: Arte e Ciência, 1997: 10.

[18] Dopico Black, Georgina. *Perfect Wives, Other Women: Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2001: 51.

[19] Dilevko, Juris and Keren Dali Glenda Garbutt. *Contemporary World Fiction: A Guide to Literature in Translation*. Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited, 2011: 272.

appreciated.[20] The author's translations were lauded and admired for their precision and accuracy (for he would always avoid omissions).[21]

We learn from Bell that Portugal and Spain, although incomparable in terms of territory, are both regionally diverse and marked by socio-cultural, linguistic and historical differentiations. Bell captures similarities and differences that exist between the two nations and between specific Iberian regions; differences that are relevant for the comprehension of unique and particular features that define the identity of the Iberian peoples. He looks carefully at the characteristics and behaviours of the Portuguese, Castilians, Galicians, Basques, Catalans and the Valencians, capturing traits that are shared by the members of Iberian cultures and that delineate unique, individual qualities of each group.

In *Spanish Galicia* Bell traces back the origin of the Portuguese nation and illustrates the common roots of Galician, Portuguese and Spanish literature. In various writings dedicated to Portuguese and Galician poetry Bell attempts to define the word *saudade*[22] that also describes the character of these two populations. Bell challenged himself several times to translate this word and explain its meaning to the English reader. According to him, «saudade» may possibly have an Arabic origin, deriving from the word «saudaui»[23], however, «para *saudade*», says Bell, «se buscão em vão equivalentes em outras linguas».[24]

Aubrey Bell also examines and compares such questions as the presence of the Church in the life of Iberian peoples, their devotedness or anticlericalism, the political situation, climate, customs and languages that are, in many aspects, remarkably similar in Portugal and Spain, nonetheless, some analogies are fanciful and merely superficial, what the author carefully tended to prove along his distinguished career.

In *Portugal of the Portuguese* the author reviews the history of Portugal that is continuously disturbed by the uncertainty of the mutual relations between the two nations. Aubrey Bell was actually able to detect and interpret signs of that particular, bilateral dislike and antipathy between the Iberian nations. He observes: «the Castilian tends to despise the Portuguese, and the Portuguese returns this dislike in flowing

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[20] Bell's translation of *The Relic* enjoyed a well-deserved popularity till 1994, when another translation of the book appeared. In the opinion of Richard Sullivan, a reviewer of *The New York Times Book Review*, Bell's translation is «so lively and graceful that it almost suggests that the work had been originally composed in this racy English prose."

[21] Baubeta, Partícia Anne Odber de. *The Anthology in Portugal: A New Approach to the History of Portuguese Literature in the Twentieth Century*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2007: 65.

[22] *Portugal of the Portuguese*, 1917.

Portuguese Literature, 1922.

In Portugal 1912.

Spanish Galicia, 1922.

Studies in Portuguese Literature, 1914.

A Palavra "Saudade" em Gallego, A Águia, No.49, 1916.

[23] Wheeler, Douglas L. and Walter C. Opello Jr. *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*. Lanham: Scarecow Press, 2010: 248.

[24] "A Palavra 'Saudade' em Gallego". *A Águia*, No.49, 1916: 18.

measure».[25] This troubled relationship merited, according Aubrey Bell, a separate chapter of *In Portugal*, which he dedicated to a small piece of land between Elvas and Badajoz, entitled "Where Lusitania and her sister meet". In his belief, that territory is, paradoxically, most typically Portuguese and represents a clear contrast with the near city of Badajoz and people who inhabit it. He comments: «in no part of Portugal shall one find dresses and faces more characteristically Portuguese than here at Elvas within sight of Badajoz and Spain, nowhere is the fundamentally different temper of the two peoples more apparent».[26]

At times Bell gives but a tenuous hint of kinship and affinity that he extended more for Portugal than for Spain; about the work of artisans, he says: «indeed, while the Spanish make things for show rather than for use, and the French for a little of both, the Portuguese agrees with the English making them with a regard for comfort and a sublime unconcern for the look of them».[27] This fondness also extends to the Portuguese people, whose calmness and patience is boundless. That last town on his long excursion, Elvas, and the people there made him feel comfortable and relaxed; he reveals: «the general impression is of quietness and good humour, a quietness of voice and word that is not to be found in Spain».[28] However, it must be also admitted that Bell clearly identified with the Spanish rebellious spirit too, being himself an exile from his homeland and an exile from society.[29] What is more, his dedication to Hispanism, made him an acknowledged scholar in the area and, in the opinion of many, one of the forefathers of the discipline of Spanish studies.

Aubrey Bell felt himself well fitted into the societies that were backward and old-fashioned. Rejecting the present and the modern, he would align himself with the past and the archaic. Malcolm Kevin Read concludes that Bell's «journey to the South becomes», in reality, «a journey into the past».[30] In his publications Bell attempted to safeguard the traditional Spain and Portugal, he fancied so much, or, at least, preserve it on paper. He wished to prevent modernity and progress from advancing at an undesirable speed in his desired, «last paradise».

[25] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 4.
[26] *Idem*, pp. 198-199.
[27] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 21.
[28] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 198.
[29] Read, Malcolm K. *Educating the Educators: Hispanism and its Institutions*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003: 21.
[30] *Idem*, p. 24.

2.3. 20th century travelling and travellers. The specificity of contemporary travel literature.

Travel literature or travel writing is a sub-genre of narrative with undeniable cross-cultural connotations. Travelogues, travel logs, *récit de voyage*, travel narratives, guidebooks, exist ever since written literature came into being.[31] Human mobility (migration/dislocation/travelling) and writing have always been strictly tied; nomadism, pilgrimage, merchandising, exploration and expansion, colonizing, evangelization, refugeeism, science and vacation being the principal areas associated with the genre.

Guidebooks, written with the purpose of giving information, orientation and direction to those who travel, were already known in the Ancient World. In the Middle Ages, it was believed, pilgrimages were necessary for spiritual renewal and salvation. The rise of Christianity and the rise in popularity of holy places were accompanied by a growing demand for guidebooks, through which pilgrims and crusaders were informed which routes to opt for, where to stay or where to look for medical aid if needed. Moreover, it was the Christian tradition of the period that recognized the allegory of life as a journey and symbolical and spiritual pilgrimage in search for God.[32]

From the 15th century onwards, more and more expeditions would set off from Europe «conquering» and describing the world. Documentation and accounts from those enterprises would provide information on customs, society, history, language and rituals of the natives. However, the prevailing opinion of that time held that travellers were plain liars, meaning what they reported in their texts was embellished, dubious, imaginary or false. Travel writers started losing their credibility until, in the 17th century, some literary critics advocated that travel writing should represent truth on a foreign lands and countries.[33]

Since the second half of the 17th century the first Grand Tour travels were undertaken, their main objective being to complete the education of young gentlemen from upper-classes. Nevertheless, the paramount latent expectations of that adventure were: an acquisition of works of art and antiquities, circulation among the continental elite and an opportunity for sexual adventure abroad.[34] The itinerary of such travels ought to include: the Netherlands, France, Italy and Switzerland, the countries considered the cradle of humanity and civilization. Succeeded by «mass tourism», the custom died out after the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars, mainly due to the introduction of steam power and a much more intensive exploitation of the railway.

It was still in the first half of the 19th century that new institutions and entrepreneurship supporting «mass tourism» were established. A combination of various factors contributed to the growth of the business of tourism; besides the above-mentioned ones, there is, of course, a number of others that determined the emergence

[31] Adams, Percy G. *Travel literature and the evolution of the novel*. Lexinton: University Press of Kentucky, 1983: 38.

[32] Hulme, Peter and Tim Young. *The Cambridge companion to travel writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 2.

[33] Adams, Percy G. *Op. Cit.*, p. 88.

[34] Hulme, Peter and Tim Young. *Op. Cit.*, p. 40-41.

of the tourist industry, such as: the demographic upsurge, the rise of the middle-class, the process of urbanization, the democratization of education (after museums becoming national, municipal and regional institutions with open access to the public) and Romanticism that helped to promote the Lake District and the Highlands, awakening a special interest in wild places, generating the enthusiasm for picturesqueness and expressing a concern for ethnic and indigenous identity and diversity.

The pioneers of travel business, who enabled and facilitated mass travelling, were people with initiative and corporate spirit. Among those were tour operators and publishers of travel guides. One of them, Thomas Cook, would organize excursions and offer pre-packed tours and trips. His endeavour was addressed to those who could not travel on their own, like women, and to those who felt they needed his intermediation, authority and protection. Thanks to him and other proponents of the industry, travel became democratic, global and affordable.

The red cover guidebooks of Baedeker and Murray became a source of reference for those who sought information, precision, recommendation and guidance (reported and presented in a journalistic fashion), rather than descriptions of someone else's journey and their impressions of it. James Buzard affirms:

> To their clients, Murray and Baedeker were both men (approachable, human- they urged users to write suggestions) and institutions (awesome, unswayable in their pursuit of truth). They took a hitherto unthinkable degree of responsibility for the information they conveyed, and were rewarded with reputation of infallibility.[35]

Travel in the 17th and 18th century was accessible only to those few who had considerable means to make a lengthy and time-consuming journey. Depending on their families' resources, they might be accompanied by tutors or/and instructors, servants, local guides, and even artists who had some knowledge of the country(-ies) and who would provide a connection between the book and the experience of the Grand Tour. Such a travel could last up to a few years and within this time the traveller was supposed to produce a travel sketch, travel book, journal, diary or at least letters that would provide an account of the experience to those ones who stayed at home. In 1820, Mary Shelley writing to the Gisborns, who were on their trip to France, urged them to keep the family posted about all the news from the journey:

> What think you of the Alps, and how did you cross Cenis? You who are travelling must write long letters, and we that stay at home must ask questions, having nothing better to do.[36]

The traveller's revelations would be the result of the trip, thus writing was the consequence of travelling. What is more, those young gentlemen would not travel for the travel's sake but because of being assigned a duty, as travelling was understood as a

[35] Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993: 65.

[36] Colbert, Benjamin. *Shelley's Eye: Travel Writing and Aesthetic Vision*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005: 120.

social utility; the experience was supposed to make them a better human, broaden their horizons, savour the classic taste, etc. According to Buzard:

> As the ideology presented it, privileged individuals had undertaken that Tour not only for their own betterment but on behalf of, as the representatives of, the British nation (…).[37]

Every travel starts before we actually set off. The Grand Tour participants would initiate their journeys, long before they would depart physically, with the readings on what others had described and said about the lands they planned to visit. Likewise, modern, 19th and 20th century, individual and group travellers, wished to get themselves informed before the tour. However, (in travel guides) they looked up for practical and systematic information, concerning accommodation, itineraries, transportation, places of interest and costs; specific data that travel narratives and travel books of the previous period did not provide.

The new hand book has proven successful also due to the fact that railway extension boosted the levels of book distribution, and thus reduced its cost, making it reach a wider public. Besides, the book was appealing because of being impersonal, «scientific», light, portable, compact and not essayistic in nature. It was meant to be read «painlessly» on the railroad to kill time during a long train trip. John Feather explains it in such terms:

> First, and most importantly, the virtual completion of the main inter-urban railways system in 1850s gave the publishers rapid and reliable access to almost the whole of the United Kingdom market, at comparatively low cost. [...] The second great effect of the railways on the trade cannot be so precisely defined, but it certainly existed. Each railway journeys were long and tedious. Reading on the train became a common pastime among travellers […].[38]

Paul Fussell adds:

> By 1929 the Traveller's Library list included so many travel books that we must suppose that reading about someone else's travel while travelling oneself was an action widely practiced.[39]

What the guide book creators and publishers also had in mind when composing it was to give more freedom and independence to the traveller when it comes to the assistance of third parties (servants, local guides, hotelkeepers, etc.).

Even though the new travel institutions were committed to noble and philanthropic causes, such as democratizing of leisure travel, facilitating the Continental experience, «levelling-up» culturally and protecting tourists against any mishaps and unforeseen circumstances, they contributed largely to the spread of tourism and the

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[37] Buzard, James. *Op. Cit.*, p. 82.
[38] Feather, John. *A history of British publishing*. London: Routledge, 1988: 94.
[39] Fussell, Paul. *Abroad: British Literary Travelling between the Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980: 59.

invention of «mass tourism», which they would readily repudiate in the first decade of the 20th century.[40]

Many criticized Cook and others for having enabled, as Jim Butcher goes on to say: «the 'uncultured' masses to partake of leisure travel».[41] It was at that time the opposition between the tourist and the traveller started to be constructed. Tourists were recognized as a unit with no identity, nor personality; the mass, the mob, the crowd that did not aspire to absorb any cultural nor intellectual information. Cook, on his part, was blamed for organizing trips for who does not think critically and has no will, and also for becoming an unquestioned authority as a tourist entrepreneur. He was not the only to be castigated though, Murray and Baedeker, according to Buzard:

> [H]ad most influentially assembled a 'tourist's Europe' between the covers of their volumes, holding out the promise of a kind of cultural mastery that could be gained through ritual contact with the places and artefacts recounted in the guidebook. The 'France' and 'Switzerland' and 'Northern Italy' and even 'the Continent' that emerge from the handbooks' pages are collections of culturally valuable objects, items which appear to be up for symbolic sale to the user of the guide.[42]

The traveller/tourist dichotomy was invoked as early as in the middle of the 19th century, although it was since the last decade of the 18th century that the term «tourist» had been gaining negative connotations. It was commonly acknowledged since then that the tourist's experience, unlike the traveller's experience, lacked in spontaneity, risk or excitement. It was believed that the tourist, unlike the traveller, followed the «beaten track», and followed the steps of the real traveller in a superficial, ignorant and repetitive way.[43]

What is more, tourists, also called «mock-travellers» (the term used by Michael Kowalewski), «accidental tourists» (the denomination proposed by Anne Tyler) or «stationary tourists» (coined by Paul Fussell), are afraid of the foreign and the strangeness that is appealing to the traveller. Tourists go for a pre-packaged, «pre-lived», perhaps fashionable, but an inauthentic experience of the safe, secure and conventional; they are unlikely to venture off the «beaten track» because, in reality, they do not aspire to leave home, nor get out of their habits, or comfort zones.[44]As Rockwell Gray states:

> [T]rue travel must both unsettle and delight us.[45] [...] adventurous travel depends on maintaining a tension between the familiar and the strange.[46]

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[40] Buzard, James. *Op. Cit.*, p. 77.

[41] Butcher, Jim. *The moralization of tourism: sun, sand…and saving the world?* London: Routledge, 2003: 23.

[42] Buzard, James. *Op. Cit.*, p. 77.

[43] Schulz-Forberg, Hagen. *London – Berlin: Authenticity, Modernity, and the Metropolis in Urban Travel Writing from 1851 to 1939*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006: 60.

[44] Kowalewski, Michael. *Temperamental journeys*. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992: 4-5.

[45] *Idem*, p. 39.

Aubrey Bell's reader can only be defined as a traveller, never as a tourist. Bell does not content himself with superficial knowledge, simple descriptions and obvious facts; in his writings he presents an enormous amount of factual, anthropological, literary, societal, ethnographic, historic, geographic, topographical and contemporary information. The information we are provided goes far beyond the characteristics and contents of a common travel book. In his travelogues Bell combines transversality of subjects with accuracy of description and fidelity of relation.

The author speaks openly to the reader, referring to him/her as the traveller. It happens in *Portugal of the Portuguese*, *In Portugal*, *The magic of Spain* and *Spanish Galicia*. In the "Preface" to *In Portugal* he says:

> Each of the eight provinces (more especially those of the *alemtejanos, minhotos* and *beirões*) preserves many peculiarities of language, customs and dress; and each, in return, for hardships endured, will give to the traveller many a day of delight and interest.[47]

Obviously the times change, as change travelling habits. Some contemporary authors and critics feel great nostalgia for the times when travel writing, and its functions were different, when travelling, as they say, was authentic, exciting, thrilling and rewarding, and when the traveller was an «intellectual hero». In Paul Fussell's words, «I am assuming that travel is now impossible and that tourism is all we have left. Travel implies variety of means and independence of arrangements».[48]

According to Fussell, in between the two World Wars real journeying came to an end. The author blames entrepreneurs of the new leisure institutions, such as the Cooks, Baedeker or Murray, for shipping to the Continent hordes of tourists whose main interest in Abroad was to rise in their prestige at home, enjoy much more sexual liberty, acquire souvenirs (which, for them, are like the trophies or sacred objects brought home for a reward) and, finally, to enhance, for a moment, their self-esteem.[49]

In *Abroad*, Paul Fussell presents a clear distinction between the explorer, the traveller and the tourist. The author defines exploration as journeying outside one's own country in the Renaissance, which had a huge impact on imperialism and colonization; travel, to him, is a result of an individual impulse and belongs to the bourgeois culture, and, finally, tourism is placed chronologically in the proletarian era.[50] He reaffirms:

> All three make journeys , but the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveller that which has been discovered by the mind working in history, the tourist that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity. The genuine traveller is, or used to be, in the middle between the two extremes. […] But travel is work. […] Before the development of tourism, travel was considered to be the adornment of the mind and the formation of the judgment.[51]

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[46] *Idem*, p. 42.
[47] Aubrey, Bell. (1912a), p. vi.
[48] Fussell, Paul. *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.
[49] *Idem*, p. 42.
[50] *Idem*, p. 38.
[51] *Idem*, p. 39.

Aubrey Bell's prime mission was that of a traveller. He travelled for the sake of travelling, wandering and vagabonding. Bell travelled because travelling signified to him self-instructing, acquiring knowledge and extending his ethnographic, geographical and anthropological education. First he would witness things and then write first-hand documentary testimony of it. Bell's originality lies in the combination of some characteristics and features: his origin, studies at Oxford, great knowledge of Portuguese literature and society, undeniable language skills, his keen powers of observation, as well as sensibility and singularity of expression.

Aubrey Bell's writings that deal with peninsular society, customs, travelling and exploration were written in the 20s and 30s of the previous century. Even though many celebrated writers and men of letters had visited and described Portugal before him (Lord Byron, Henry Fielding, John Adamson, Lord Strangford, Robert Southey and others), which means we could not designate Portugal of the time as «a ground virgin to the traveller», it was still unexplored, in many ways, a country. In the first chapter of *Portugal of the Portuguese* Bell says:

> The life of the Portuguese in a political and literary (written literature) sense is concentrated in Lisbon, but outside this narrow circle exists the Portuguese people proper, to the foreigner almost an unknown quantity […].[52]

It was the unknown, the undiscovered and the unexplored that attracted Bell in Portugal and some regions of Spain. In *Spanish Galicia* he states clearly:

> [W]hen the north wind has driven every cloud from the sky, one seems here to have come to a heavenly undiscovered country […].[53]

Bell equated the Portuguese rural values (as opposed to the un-Portuguese, cosmopolitan values of the urban elite of Lisbon), preserved by the communities of the countryside, with the true Portugal. To him, the rural areas between towns and places of usual tourist attraction were deeply fascinating.

According to his biographer, M. A. Buchanan:

> As it is evident from the extensive quotations from Portuguese and Spanish literatures in his books of travel, he had read systematically, with a view to specializing in these subjects. Like that other great reader, Don Quixote, he felt the need to experience on the highways to confirm the reality (poetical) of his interpretation of books.[54]

Buzard, just like Paul Fussell, also draws a critical distinction between the tourist and the traveller that lets us classify Bell as an authentic traveller in spirit and manners:

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[52] Bell, Aubrey. *Portugal of the Portuguese*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917: 1.
[53] Bell, Aubrey. *Spanish Galicia*. London: John Lane, 1922: 92.
[54] Buchanan, M.A. *Op. Cit.*, p. 15.

> [W]hen we think of geography, particularly in the context of tourism, we tend to impose fixed limits on accustomed attractions and stops, and to imagine the areas between them as somehow 'empty', as unworthy of attention […]. In the dichotomy of tourist and traveller, true travellers know this assumption to be false. They travel every step of the way- that is why walking and climbing are particularly imbued with the travelling spirit […].[55]

Aubrey Bell journeys for pleasure; he is an excursionist, sight-seer and a wanderer. He roams for delight, observation and study. When wandering throughout Alentejo, Bell observes:

> The distances given by the peasants are always vague, and a very real, although easily remedied, drawback of walking in Portugal is the deficiency of signposts and milestones. The signposts are exceedingly rare, the wayfarer over and over again is left to choose one of four roads at his discretion […].[56]

Bell's way of writing is unique and reveals many aspects of his research and work as a traveller. The author provides us with an impressive array of ethnographic and anthropological information collected on the many escapades to the countryside. His encounters with the «true Portugal» are spontaneous and genuine.

In 1937, a Canadian writer, Stephen Leacock, affirmed:

> All travel writing and travel pictures in books are worn out and belong to a past age […]. It is no longer possible to tell anyone anything new about anywhere.[57]

It was not the case of Aubrey Bell and the times that he worked as a writer and a researcher with interest in Portuguese studies though. His first publications date from 1912, with *In Portugal* being the first book published on Portuguese subjects. In his works Aubrey Bell demonstrated an unrivalled knowledge about Iberian towns, countryside, customs and traditions, literature or peasant life. Moreover, few writers before him had revealed the same wholehearted dedication of time and energy to so many components of Portuguese affairs.

The new guide books of Murray and Baedeker, written in double columns, were easily searchable in structure and reached the acme of compressed information. However, in the late 1830s John Murray and other publishers resolved to incorporate to their handbooks citations from Byron, Southey or Scott. Many tourists thus, by savouring both prose and poetry, adopted anti-touristic attitudes towards other vacationers. By reading Byron's poetical reflections, anti-tourists felt that their individual experiences were distinct from those of others, that they represented a higher social status and that they had a more refined sense of identity. Buzard asserts:

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[55] Buzard, James. *Op. Cit*., p. 34.
[56] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 204.
[57] Leacock, Stephen. *My discovery of the West: a discussion of East and West in Canada*. Boston: Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1937: 4.

> Byron's celebrated pathos and poeticality had been shaped into an instrument for the assertion of one's difference from the crowd but what Victorian humorists suspected was that the socially sanctioned vehicle for differentiating oneself might function as a tool for producing conformity, providing a gratuitous sense of liberation in individual consciousness while ushering one individual after another through the same holiday routine.[58]

In the case of Aubrey Bell, quotes are amply present in his texts. In three of his publications, *Spanish Galicia*, *Portuguese Portraits* and *In Portugal*, every chapter opens with one or more quotes. They appear either in English or in Castilian, Portuguese, Galician, Latin and Italian (with the English translation always appended), being derived from Iberian literature or the writings of other travellers, essayists or philosophers.

Spanish Galicia contains six chapters with six opening quotations from: Nicolaus Clenardus, Francisco Manuel de Mello, Alberto García Ferreiro, Rosalía de Castro, Gonzalo López Abente and Antonio Noriega Varela, three of them being Galician writers. *In Portugal* displays quotations from: Camões, Bernardim Ribeiro, Guerra Junqueiro, Leopardi, Gil Vicente, Alexandre Herculano, Tomás Ribeiro, Byron, Tirso de Molina, José da Silva Mendes Leal, Francisco Sá de Miranda, King Diniz, Sir Walter Scott, Almeida Garrett, Francisco de Sá e Meneses, Strabo, Francisco Gomes de Amorim, Camilo Castelo Branco, Bacon, Portuguese sayings and romances. And, finally, *Portuguese Portraits* contains seven chapters dedicated to the forgotten heroes of Portugal, every chapter starting with one or more quotes that relates to each character; the sources being: António de Sousa de Macedo, Camões, Fernão Lopes, D. Francisco Manuel de Melo, José Agostinho de Macedo, Gaspar Correia, Damião de Góis, Heitor Pinto, João Ribeiro, Pedro de Mariz and George Borrow.

This extraordinary variety of sources proves three things: first, it evidences an absolute mastery of the vast Iberian literature by Aubrey Bell, second, it confirms the author's intention to promote less known Iberian authors and, finally, it defines the profile of Bell's readership, which is: intelligent, well-informed, well-educated and well-read. When it comes to other foreign quotes and phrases used by Bell in his works, the writer provides quotations also in Greek and Basque, when he attempts to trace empirically the origin of some Basque words back to classical Greek; as well as in German, French and Catalan.

The signification of the term «beaten track» was shaped in the 19th century with the foundation of new leisure industries that facilitated travelling to the Continent. The Continental tourist started to be identified with an automaton that travels just to be able to say «I have been there»[59]. He would not care for the authenticity of the travel, nor would he have any judgment to appreciate things/objects/landscapes that he was not directed or controlled to observe. Besides, he required comfort and support, and sought the familiar in the unfamiliar. According to Paul Fussell, thanks to travel guides, tourists' anxiety and fear of novelty was reduced.[60]

[58] Buzard, James. *Op. Cit.*, p. 130.
[59] Buzard, James. *Idem*, p. 104.
[60] Fussell, Paul. *Op. Cit.*, p. 42.

However, in many respects, «beaten tracks» had already existed before the invention of «mass tourism». For example, the Grand Tour experience was not only routine-like in the sense of activity to educated elite, but it also invited its participants to the same well-established, conventional and repetitive routes.

When travelling with Aubrey Bell, the author encourages his reader/traveller to abandon the «beaten tracks» of Spain and Portugal, and postulates to seek undiscovered areas, to enjoy fresh and original views. In *The magic of Spain* he says:

> Some five thousand villages are still to be reached only by bridle-paths, and in these there has been little changes since Cervantes went his rounds collecting taxes; so that for those who care to leave the beaten track there still remain many unexplored districts, and much first-hand knowledge to glean of the country and its inhabitants.[61]

Pico Iyer once asked if:

> [I]t is the first secret conceit of every voyager to imagine that he alone found the world's last paradise.[62]

The Iberian Peninsula could possibly be that last and lost paradise to Aubrey Bell. This is where he settled for nearly thirty years, this is where he worked as a traveller, anthropologist, ethnographer, collecting information about customs, traditions, ways of dressing, etc., and assembling traditional and popular songs (*cantigas*) that he would «overhear» from the people. Bell would often mingle with the natives and speak to the peasants, making them impart their knowledge of the country, popular sayings, superstitions and traditions.

The author encourages the reader/traveller not only to abandon the «beaten track» in search for authenticity but also makes it clear that the best way to get to know the «true» side of the country is to let oneself get lost without a Baedeker in our hands:

> For the ordinary traveller, with red book and camera, the Spaniard will hardly disclose his true nature, and remains an impenetrable mystery; not that the foreigner often realizes the existence of the unsolved riddle, the Spaniard presenting a sufficient number of striking aspects to make a swift superficial impression.[63]

In the writings we can sense Bell's disappointment over the fall of tradition and the rise of modernity. He sees it in both Portugal and Spain. *In Portugal* reveals this feeling:

> [P]rogress extends its dreary net of uniformity over the land; and the neglect of old traditions is one of the contradictions in the character of a people whose eyes turn willingly to the past […].[64]

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[61] Bell, Aubrey. (1912b), *Op. Cit.*, p. 48.
[62] Iyer, Pico. "How Paradise is Lost- and Found." *Time*, www.time.com.
[63] Bell, Aubrey. (1912b), *Op. Cit.*, p. 54.
[64] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 9.

In *The magic of Spain* the author adds:

> The desire to be very modern is at present a good thing in Spain, yet it need not consist in casting aside old traditions and diffidently rejecting Spanish customs that are excellent.[65]

This was Bell's objective to prepare books and other printed materials that would document Portuguese culture, customs and traditions, in an effort to preserve them from oblivion. Unfortunately, they could not be recorded on paper by peasants or labourers for they were illiterate. As those two nations and their people, in the epigraph from Marx, cited by Edward Said in *Orientsalism*, «cannot represent themselves; they must be represented»[66], Bell resolves to speak for those who cannot express themselves and to help them chronicle their traditional ways.

[65] Bell, Aubrey. (1912b), *Op. Cit.*, p. 43.
[66] Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 2003: 335.

2.4. Aubrey Bell and Portugal: from the Republic to the *Estado Novo* (New State).

Aubrey Bell's «adventure» with Portugal started in 1911, more or less one year after the Republic had been established. However, the author must have already had some vague sense of the political life in the Spanish Republic (First Spanish Republic, 1873-1874) from literature. Thus his first impressions and ideas of the new born Portuguese Republic were highly unfavourable; he never got them reverse, on the contrary, with time his opinions became even more negative and his critic more acute. His disputations against the Republic and its politicians soon got him the reputation of a Monarchist, which resulted in his imprisonment.

The reason and the moment for Bell's arrest were clearly justifiable: after the Republic was founded (5 October 1910), the rightists and conservatives had to turn to conspiracy and go underground. Yet the apparent calmness did not lull the Republicans into a false sense of security. They remained on alert in case of disturbances or a counterrevolution. Bell though understood that political behaviour and the measures of precaution as excessive and unfounded. He expresses his criticism in *Portugal of the Portuguese* in the following way: «the chief evil in Portugal has been the imagination of evil, the fear of disease doing much to encourage or aggravate the disease».[67]

There were various causes of the fall of the Monarchy in Portugal, and many of them date back to the 19th century. To begin with, some historians connect the fall of the Monarchy with the departure of the King and the Royal family to Brazil upon the Napoleonic invasion in 1808. Due to an unstable political situation in the homeland, their return to the Portuguese soil was delayed till 1822. This attitude, however, was looked upon with a widespread distrust and, gradually, the institution of the Monarchy started to be considered as dispensable, seeing that the Monarch ceased to represent the nation's will. The concept of popular sovereignty and the principles of universal suffrage started more and more to come to the front.

British involvement in the Peninsular War was viewed with deep scepticism and mistrust by the Portuguese, as the Royal family, in their flight to Brazil in 1808, travelled under British naval protection, and after they had been advised by British diplomacy to flee from the Old Continent. However, it was the British Ultimatum of 1890 that gave raise to strong anti-British sentiments in Portugal (in the country's capital a mob stormed the British consulate and in Porto the Liga do Norte railed at the British citizens residing in this country).[68] The British Ultimatum put an end to the Portuguese imperial ambitions and subjected Portugal to a painful, international humiliation, following a withdrawal of Portuguese military forces from the area between Angola and Mozambique, known as the «Pink Map». To many in the country, yielding to such an embarrassing demand from the British signified the weakness of the Portuguese Crown.

An essential element of the change in the panorama of 19th century Portugal was an emergence of the proletariat demanding social justice and economic equality.

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[67] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 220.

[68] Müller, Margrit and Timo Myllyntaus. *Pathbreakers: Small European Countries Responding to Globalisation and Deglobalisation*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2008: 197.

The steady growth and agglomeration of the city of Lisbon was reflected by a rapidly growing number of newcomers who, illiterate and deprived of the right to vote, started to form a new social and political power. This new power (Partido Socialista, since 1875, Partido Republicano since 1876, and the Union forces) started to effectively influence the political life by questioning the old social order and the rotativist methods of election.

Another group that can be identified as a key one in the political agenda of the time was the Carbonária. Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell dedicates three paragraphs of the chapter "Politics and the Press" in *Portugal of the Portuguese* to describe this group and its status in the political realm. «These devoted defenders of the Republic», as he calls them, were made up of the urban plebs of the capital, students, urban bureaucracy (clerks, legal officers, etc.) and sergeants. It was this group that was directly involved in the assassination of King Carlos I of Portugal and Prince Luís Filipe, Duke of Braganza, his heir to the throne, in 1908. Not disbanded after the Revolution, the «White Ants», as they were sometimes called, contributed largely to the political instability in the first years of the Republic, recurring, many times, to unlawful methods of terrorism.

The International economic crisis (1890-1891) had a huge impact on the Portuguese economy that in 1891 suffered bankruptcy. The financial and monetary crisis significantly influenced Portuguese financial policy, making many public investments get postponed or cancelled. Nonetheless, the freshly created Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria (1852) launched a development programme meant to incorporate in Portugal the latest technological developments, such as the telegraph, the telephone and the railroad. It is important to observe that, despite major economic difficulties, Portugal was the sixth country in the world to have the public telephone system in service.

All in all, the last twenty years of the Monarchy were marked by oligarchization, corruption, caciquism and ungovernability, due to the system of rotativism, with two parties always alternating in power: Partido Progressista and Partido Regenerador, regarding both regional and central elections. This practice thoroughly discredited the institution of the Monarchy in the eyes of the Portuguese, for the King played an essential and authoritarian role in that procedure. The Portuguese people started to feel they stopped to be politically represented, as the rotativist system privileged rural, financial or colonial elites. Even though the situation slightly changed for a short period of time when João Franco formed the third party, Partido Regenerador Liberal, which attempted to dissociate itself from the «political mistakes and vices of the traditional parties»[69], the revolution seemed inevitable, as it first and foremost meant a class struggle, suffrage and a fight for the right to education. Before anything else, people considered the old system inadequate for the modern times, and, secondly, the King's position in the scheme of João Francos's dictatorship got him even more enemies,

[69] Fava, Fernando Mendonça. *Leonardo Coimbra e a I República: percurso político e social de um filósofo.* Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008: 23.

following a successful propaganda from the opposition against the Royal politics that supported the repressive measures of João Franco.

Even though the Portuguese blamed their King for corruption, decadence, the rotativism, and the loss of the Southern African region (the so-called «Pink Map»), King Carlos I of Portugal was, in the opinion of Wheeler and Opello, «a talented diplomat who managed to repair the damaged Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and to promote other foreign policy initiatives».[70] Besides, he was a patron of the arts and an amateur scientist. In the last years of his reign the King felt himself betrayed and abandoned, as the privileged classes, although committed to defend the *status quo*, failed to prevent the overthrow of the Monarchy. King Carlos would bitterly describe his country as «a Monarchy without monarchists».[71] In Tom Gallagher's view, the elites and the privileged classes: «had concluded that the monarchy was simply not worth preserving, since it was signally failing to provide stability».[72] Once again, the breakout of the revolution seemed only a question of time. In 1891, the year of an attempted republican revolution in Porto (January 31, 1891), José Falcão wrote: «there is only one remedy, and this remedy must come from the Revolution: either Revolution made by the king or the revolution made by the people».[73]

The idea of the revolution brought together the republican mob of Lisbon, urban communities of the big cities (petty bourgeoisie elite and militaries) and the elite of the Partido Republicano Português. Since the Party's foundation, the PRP changed its line from «moderate» to «revolutionary», heeding and appealing to masses via democratic and nationalistic slogans. The Republican movement before the Revolution of 5 October 1910 would attract various social groups and individuals (free-thinkers, feminists, anti-clericalists, socialists, liberals, and others), as well as different organizations loosely or tightly connected with the party; the degree of their connection also led to the destabilization of the political situation under the First Republic.

2.4.1. Bell's testimony of historical events resulting from the Revolution of 1910.

According to Aubrey Bell, the faith pinned on the new governmental system and the new regime soon degenerated into disappointment and disillusionment of both national and international spectators. Problems, says the author, started already when it came to the formation of the government, and afterwards when the Parliament tried to create electoral laws and resolve the question of the Church. The shape of the new Constitution also provoked a lengthy discussion and negotiations between the Republicans. Disagreements and misunderstandings among comrades inside the

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[70] Wheeler, Douglas L. and Walter C. Opello Jr. *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*. Lanham: Scarecow Press, 2010: 71.

[71] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 132.

[72] Gallagher, Tom. *Portugal: a Twentieth-Century Interpretation.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983: 21.

[73] Torres, Flausino. *História contemporânea do povo português.* Porto: Prelo, 1968: 19.
In original: «Só há um remédio e este remédio há-de vir da Revolução. Ou a Revolução é feita pelo Rei ou é feita pelo povo».

Republican Party would intensify with the passing of time; indeed, their differences would reflect the gulf between the Republicans and the society they meant to represent. Shortly after the Revolution, testifies Bell:

> [A]ll the offices of Royalist newspapers were attacked and wrecked, both at Lisbon and in the provinces. At Coimbra and elsewhere the Royalist and the Catholic Clubs were assaulted and plundered».[74]

Besides the terror infused by the Carbonária, the country was racked by strikes and street violence. The initial promises of reconciliation and peace, informs Bell, were hollow, for the government did not hesitate to adopt measures of open hostility towards the Royalists and the Catholics. Moreover, already in 1912, after the general strike in Lisbon and the region of Alentejo, the Government declared martial law, followed by the arrest of over a thousand trade unionists and workmen.

After the disastrous defeat, suffered by the Royalists in the 5 October Revolution, the Monarchists, the Royalists and the conservatives joined their forces several times more to oppose the new regime. The first Royalist insurrection broke out in the north of Portugal already in 1911, however, failed to produce an intended effect, as spies from the Carbonária had been infiltrating the entire country and invigilating the citizens. Another insurrection, from 1912, had also an unfortunate outcome. In that insurrection captain João de Almeida was taken prisoner and then denied his rights to be treated as an officer. The Royalists were persecuted throughout the country and punished in various ways: some were caught and beaten in the streets, others were unlawfully imprisoned or deported to the far-off places in the colonies, relates Aubrey Bell.

The situation of the new regime, according to the author, would resemble in many respects that of the last years of the Monarchy, or, at least, the politicians would repeat the same mistakes by putting the good of their parties[75] over the good of the country. The Democrats, who despised the Royalists, would incite hatred for the Royalist in the society, ignoring the appeals for reconciliation and peace coming from moderate Republicans. From *Portugal of the Portuguese* we learn that the finances of the country were in a highly deplorable condition. To prove his point, Aubrey Bell goes on to quote *O Século*, a Portuguese daily newspaper, on the subject:

> The politicians of the Republic are personally as honest as may be, but as administrators of the public finances they rank with what was bad in the administration under the Monarchy.[76]

The endemic governmental instability, as well as social conflicts were leading repeatedly to new elections[77], a situation that would bring about even more political

[74] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 200.
[75] In the meantime the PRP split into a number of small parties that would remain under the direction of the PRP. The new formations that emerged were: the Evolutionist Party, the Unionist Party and the Democrat Party.
[76] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 205.

chaos, economic disruption and anarchy. Another question that bothered the author was an alliance forged between the daily newspaper *O Mundo*, the Carbonária and the Democrats; that «trinity», as he would call it, was «disastrous to the Republic».[78] Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell attacks the Democrats for their undemocratic behaviour, in his opinion, highly prejudicial to the country:

> It is the creed of the Democrats that outside the Republic there are no Portuguese, and outside the Democrat party there are no Republicans. Those who do not belong to the Democrat party can, therefore, scarcely be good Republicans.[79]

Another affair that wrecked the country's peace, civil relations and political dialogue was the mass persecution of the Royalists. The question of framing the Royalists for crimes, riots and bloody disorders, as well as the widespread arrests of the political opponents is central to the author's critique of the Republic. What was peculiar in those mass imprisonments, acknowledges Bell, was the very fact that the police were not overtly involved in the plot of the operations. Although they were cooperative, the police were deliberately misinformed about many details, for the government placed in charge of this undertaking the «White Ants» and Carbonários.

Intra-party disagreements, conflicts and divisions reached deadlock in the end of 1913 when the two Chambers got politically distant: while the majority in the Chamber of Deputies supported the Democrat, Afonso Costa, the Senate was anti-Democrat. The clash between them delayed the passing of the Budget. To makes matters worse, adds the author, the situation in the country was daily becoming more alarming. More and more prisoners (many of them Republicans) would arrive to the already overcrowded prisons, making the facilities increasingly stretched to cater for such big numbers. The Amnesty Bill for political prisoners was passed only in February, 1914, when a new government of Bernardino Machado got installed to substitute the dismissal government of Costa. The new government also did not stay long in power, and soon got succeeded by the one of Victor Hugo de Azevedo. This inefficient political regime of the Republicans ended up in the *coup d'état* of Pimenta de Castro in the beginning of 1915. Aubrey Bell fostered a kind of genuine sympathy for the dictatorship:

> There was a general breath of relief throughout the country, and by an odd paradox this new Government born of a military movement, this "dictatorship", this "tyranny", proved the most moderate Government that Portugal had seen since the Revolution of 1910. [...] O but, say the Democrats, it was all so unconstitutional! Such a dictatorship! *Of course* it was unconstitutional. The Democrats having installed themselves in power [...] could never be dislodged by constitutional means.[80]

To the critique for the suppression of the democracy, he would answer:

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[77] In the course of 1912 the country saw five different governments.
[78] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 206.
[79] *Idem*, p. 206.
[80] *Idem*, p. 213.

> It is true that the situation [the dictatorship of Pimenta de Castro] is some respects resembled that of Snr. João Franco's Government, and it is a striking and bitter comment on the seven intervening years that to find a government as good as that of General Pimenta de Castro one has to go back to that of Snr. João Franco. They are like two rocks, and the seven years between a sea of slush and molten fire.[81]

At times Aubrey Bell would assume the stance of a neutral observer to the events he witnessed; however, more often he would give a very personal assessment of the situation he thought to describe. The author would ardently advocate abolishing the Republic which, in his understanding, was desperately wicked, powerless, unstable and decadent. The deplorable state in which the Republic would find itself was worse, he maintained, to that of the Monarchy the Revolutionists laboured to overthrow. Bell was branded a counter-revolutionist and a conservative, as in his publications he would issue a more or less explicit appeal to the conservative forces for them to join together in order to stabilize the situation of the country, and to resurrect Portugal from chaos. However, on the other hand, he cannot be called a fanatic supporter of the monarchical cause. In his prognosis for the future of Portugal he affirms:

> It might not be difficult to restore the Monarchy temporarily by a sudden *coup d'état*: the difficulty would be to maintain it. A restoration brought about by force now would create a very dangerous and unsatisfactory situation. […] It is thus essential that the Republicans should be given a free hand to show what they can do.[82]

The author's content with the new dictatorial government was not long-lasting though. On May 5, 1915, only few months after Pimenta de Castro reached power, another revolution broke out, with the purpose of restoring the Constitution. Bell's indignation with the new state of affairs is overtly displayed in the ending paragraph of the chapter describing "Recent Events" in *Portugal of the Portuguese*. In his belief, the «unconstitutional moderation» was much more desirable for the country's well-being, its economic recovery and growth than the «constitutional tyranny» imposed by the Democrats.

Bell's survey of the Portuguese reality also covers such areas as the press and journalism. What might have been surprising to the English reader of the time was the fact that the Portuguese press lacked a newspaper whose editorial views would not coincide with those of some political party. A fundamental flaw of the majority of Portuguese journalists was, according to the author, the absence of impartiality; another weakness of the press was an excessive use of set phrases and French or Latin borrowings. Although a foreigner, Aubrey Bell was a staunch defender of the correct usage of the Portuguese language in the media. He asserts that the language spoken by the peasants is often «far clearer and more attractive than as it is often spoken at Lisbon».[83]

[81] *Idem*, p. 214.
[82] *Idem*, p. 242.
[83] *Idem*, p. 165.

The reality after the Revolution would seriously upset Bell; the negative (and sometimes bold) descriptions of what he saw prove the author's true mettle and a real caring for the country, he sincerely hoped to advance and improve. Bell deeply distrusted the political parties that would spring up in too big numbers and under no necessity after the 5 October 1910. His distrust also extended to politicians who, in his view, were more deeply interested in their private matters than the general and national interest. Even though he was an outsider, Aubrey Bell's knowledge of the language, the country's history, its literature and people would permit him to interpret the reality he moved within.

The author's disillusionment with the new regime coupled with people's frustration; even some Republican newspapers were calling the first years of the Republic a very turbulent time, characterized by violence, financial desperation of the citizens and political instability. The remedies that Bell proposes are, first of all, the decentralization of power, a return to rurality, the development of a municipal form of government and a retreat into autarchism; secondly, political parties should, in his opinion, propose simple and practical programmes, and, obviously, any Government ought to remain in office until «satisfied with what it has achieved, not merely to inform the country that it has achieved its object of establishing itself in power».[84] Besides, Bell views a potential alliance between moderate Republicans, the Monarchists and the Integralists[85] as a recipe for political difficulties. However, the idea of two or three political parties possibly alternating in power contradicts his own views of putting an end to the rotativist system. None of Bell's concepts was developed in practice though, which is why his frustration with Portuguese politics only deepened with time.

The disappointment that the Lusophile expresses in his writings has nothing to do with the country itself. His fascination for Portugal, its literature, anthropology and history remained entranced and undiminished throughout his life. *Portugal of the Portuguese* is Bell's testimony of the events that caused him a great deal of anxiety, uneasiness and grief. After all, Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell truly desired the prosperity and development of the country in which he planned to reside till the end of his days. Despite political upheavals and social conflicts that were taking place before his eyes, the author augured well for the future of Portugal. The author believed that the nearest future would manifest the destiny of the country, its political system, political culture and state organisation. He argues:

[84] *Idem*, p. 175.

[85] *Idem*, p. 257. Bell defines the Integralist movement, *Integralismo Lusitano*, as a breath of fresh air on the stagnant political scene of Portugal. This new political party «is inclined to set the work obscurely, gradually, unconventionally, with a view to the actual needs of the people, of the professional working man», informs Bell. The ideology represented by the Portuguese Integralists was congruent with the author's value system, as well as with his views of government, for the Integralist theory would underline the notion of traditional values, historical consciousness and the reaffirmation of the legitimacy of religion.

> But against the notion of those who say that Portugal is dying, slowly dying, it is necessary to enter a strong protest. If reference is made to Portugal's future, "But has Portugal a future?" ask these sceptics. And the answer is that she has not only a future but a great future. She is in the fortunate position of having accomplished great deeds and having great deeds to accomplish.[86]

2.4.2. The military *coup d'état* of 1926 and the *Estado Novo*.

Aubrey Bell, as well as other British residents and observers received the military *coup d'état* of 1926 with approval. British diplomacy regarded the Portuguese democracy[87] as fatally doomed and its collapse as unavoidable.[88] The author welcomed the newly established dictatorship of Salazar, seeing it as a restoring to power of an effective governing body (after eleven years of hiatus, since the overthrow of the «democratic *ditablanda*» of Joaquim Pimenta de Castro). Aubrey Bell played a clear role in the anti-Republican propaganda, and then, after the consolidation of the dictatorship of Salazar, the Lusophile adopted a political position that was unquestionably favourable to the authoritarian regime of Salazar. He was one of two translators of the book by António de Oliveira Salazar, *Doctrine and Action*, in which the dictator explains his plans of economic reconstruction of the country, as well as the principles of its internal and external policy.

Aubrey Bell was honoured with the Ordem de Santiago e Espada, surely for his distinguished work in promoting Portuguese literature in the United Kingdom, but also, according to Pereira da Silva, for his:

> [O]rientação politica e posicionamento ideológico marcadamente conservadores, a sua manifesta oposição aos regimes republicanos e à própria democracia, bem como pela admiração nutrida por caudilhos, estadistas autoritários ou ditadores […].[89]

[86] *Idem*, p. 238.

[87] Aubrey Bell argued that the First Republic was not a genuine democracy because Portuguese voting rights included only the adult, male and literate population, which corresponded to 15-20% of all Portuguese.

[88] Wheeler, Douglas L. *Op. Cit.*, p. 254.

[89] Silva, João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da. "Da Monarquia à República." *Regicídio e República. Opiniões Britânicas e Norte-Americanas* (eds. Manuel Canaveira and David Evans). Lisboa: Caleidoscópio, 2010.

Third Part

3. A detailed analysis of the travel book *In Portugal*.

In Portugal was Aubrey Bell's first major publication devoted to Portuguese themes, and the second to discuss the culture and literature of the Iberian Peninsula. The book is composed of twenty nine chapters in which the author attempts to portray the specificity of each region of Portugal and its peoples, starting with the south-central region of Alentejo, then moving to Algarve, visiting Extremadura and finally exploring the north of the country.

The work does not feature any dedication. One of the first pages displays a brief quotation from a Portuguese romance that conveys an exciting flavour of travelling to Portugal:

> Oh quem fôra a Portugal,
> Terra que Deus bemdizia![90]

In Portugal came out in print in 1912 by an English publishing house: John Bodley Head. However, the book had been ready for publication already in July 1911, from when dates the "Preface", composed by the author in Mirandela, Trás-os-Montes. This fact allows us to infer the "Preface" was written when the book had already been completed, as the trajectory of Bell's travel would come to an end in the country's north.

1912 was the year of publication of another travel book by Aubrey Bell, *The magic of Spain*, issued by the same editor. This book holds a note from the author that antecedes the "Preface". In the note we learn that the book is compounded of a collection of essays that testify the author's experience from travelling in Spain, as well as his pleasure in Spanish literature. *The magic of Spain* does not indicate any sort of comparison nor reference to Portugal, unlike the work on the latter that exhibits some juxtaposition of common elements to the two countries. It confirms that Aubrey Bell first discovered Spain and then Portugal with its cultural ancestry. In the "Preface" to *In Portugal* he writes: «the guide-books too often treat Portugal as a continuation, almost as a province of Spain».[91]

In this book Bell undertakes to draw a distinction between Portugal and Spain. He also provides interesting and useful travel information about Portuguese places of interest, countryside, customs, traditions, festivals, as well as its cultural, historical and literary heritage. Besides, the author guarantees to the traveller an extraordinary diversity of landscape, despite the country's relatively small size.

The regions that he admires the most are the ones of Alentejo, the Province of Beira and Minho. They are not as well known as the neighbourhoods of Lisbon or Porto and may be far less accessible, but, according to the Lusophile, their exploration can turn out to be a greatly rewarding experience:

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[90] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. iii.
[91] *Idem*, p. v.

> Each of the eight provinces (more especially those of the *alemtejanos*, *minhotos* and *beirões*) preserves many peculiarities of language, customs and dress; and each, in return for hardships endured, will give to the traveller many a day of delight and interest.[92]

3.1. Portuguese ways.

In the first chapter the author tries to capture the spirit and character of the Portuguese, which often contrast with that of the Spanish. There is something enigmatical and mysterious in the way these two nations have interacted, worked for the same or opposite causes, competed and acted antagonistically. They are not only separated by the frontier but also by sentiment and history. Springing from a common origin, they indicate various degrees of relationship, they are like chalk and cheese though. Bell explains:

> The thoughtful humaneness of the Portuguese is poles apart from the noble rashness and imprudence of the Spaniard; the Spaniard's restless discontent is replaced in Portugal by what might almost be called a contented melancholy […].[93]

These two peoples hold each other in mutual despise that results from their long history in which animosities and rivalry played a significant part. According to Bell:

> This mutual dislike of Spaniard and Portuguese is not based upon a similarity in weakness, in which case it would be the more easily intelligible, but rather upon an opposition of excellences, a complete divergence of character.[94]

The Portuguese is less aggressive and more melancholic. Melancholy or *saudade*, the state in which the past casts its lights to the present and the future, is his fundamental characteristic. Although he has a sense of accomplishment, which is the result of traversing the new, the discovery and exploration of the foreign, this feeling or desire makes him constantly yearn for something indefinite, unfulfillable and impossible. Paradoxically, at the same time he neglects his own traditions that tie him to the past, which brings him so much comfort. The Portuguese is more vain than proud (which is the case of the Spaniard); he is religious (but not fanatic), as well as practical, tolerant and liberal.

Music plays an essential role in day-to-day routines and activities of the Portuguese. Popular *cantigas*, sung by ordinary people while performing their duties, reflect the Portuguese sensitivity, creativity and wisdom. The scope of themes employed extends from daily life objects, rural scenery, lived experience, to strong feelings and emotions.

When talking about common people, Bell observes that in rural settings Portuguese women work much harder than men. This situation is not reflected by wage

[92] *Idem*, p. vi.
[93] *Idem*, p. 4-5.
[94] *Idem*, p. 4.

rate that are unequal throughout the entire country. Although it is assumed that men are more effective and productive as workers, women spend more time working, performing heavy and menial tasks. What is more, the author asserts, their workload is greater than that of men, who often may be seen laying idle on their backs in the shelter of the nearest trees. Aubrey Bell recognizes that there are differences in drinking habits between Spain and Portugal. Even though, according to him, drinking alcohol is less frequent in Portugal than in Spain, water in Portugal is often exchanged for a glass of wine.

The first chapter also gives a brief account of some of Portuguese festivals and popular traditions, such as: *janeiras* or the eve of St. John. Bell describes those traditions and superstitions giving the traveller an insight to the character of the Portuguese as well as to their spiritual heritage. Here again the author evokes the feeling of mournful regret for the past, saying: «the old Portuguese customs and dress and characteristics are doomed to perish, they are already fast disappearing».[95]

What makes Bell's travel book unconventional is the juxtaposition of Portuguese and Spanish words in order to identify, compare or contrast them. Bell uses notoriously native Portuguese and Spanish words that sometimes, in spite of their superficial similarity, have non-harmonious meaning. Another reason for the procedure might be the lack of a precise equivalent in English, the intent to familiarize the traveller with useful foreign words and to give a colourful perspective of this «exotic» country. The Lusophile's usage of Portuguese words also gives some linguistic verisimilitude to his portrait of Portugal. Nevertheless, unlike in his another title, *Spanish Galicia*, Bell does not provide any glossary of foreign vocabulary in the end of the book.

3.2. Travelling in the south of Portugal.

The second chapter is devoted specifically to travelling in Portugal. The author advises the reader on the best time to travel in Portugal, which is in the end of April and the beginning of May, to avoid the summer heat; however, in some parts of the country, like e.g. in Sintra, the temperatures are moderated by ocean winds. When discussing the weather, the author records some Portuguese popular sayings respecting the weather and seasons of the year, like e.g.: «Sol do Março queima a dama no paço».[96]

Once again, when speaking of transportation and accommodation, Bell compares Spanish and Portuguese facilities. This comparison many times is more favourable to Portugal. Bell admits though that the traveller may confront here many difficulties and should not expect luxury provisions in most of the hotels or inns. In a relatively fair description he pictures the interior of a typical inn (*hospedaria*) and a small hotel, the food it serves to guests, and also informs about respective hours of meals.

Bell does not focus only on travelling though; in his work he considers such aspects of Portuguese life as education, or the lack of it, illiteracy, agriculture, wages or

[95] *Idem*, p. 17.
[96] *Idem*, p. 19.

library facilities planning, which, in the author's opinion, are better schemed and implemented in Portugal than in Spain.

The first region to look at in more detail is Alentejo, considered by Bell one of the most interesting of Portugal. He examines carefully Alentejan peasant style and the traditional architecture of the region. The author describes its unspoiled countryside, its underdeveloped wilderness and its wildlife:

> Or the road is bordered by tall eucalyptus trees, and the hanging bark makes a weird flapping against their bare trunks; or on one side lie tracts of corn without hedge or division, while on the other are wide meadow-valleys, or, rather, sloping wasteland, entirely covered with thistles in flowers. The faint purple of their small flowers thus seen in an endless mass is one of the most beautiful sights in Alentejo, and, indeed, in Portugal.[97]

Bell paints the portrait of Portugal and the Portuguese with words. His vivid descriptions of Alentejan landscape, topography, wildlife, individuals and their customs, can make the reader produce visual images of the places and help him connect with those images. Bell the writer mediates between the reader and the foreign, between the images he creates and the one who spectates, the one in whose imagination the scenery, Bell's Portugal, is once again revived.

3.2.1. «Picturesqueness».

In many respects Bell's works fit into nineteenth century models of travel writing. In his publications Aubrey Bell creates authenticity and genuineness of his experience, thanks to a few motifs. James Buzard calls them: «stillness», «non-utility», «saturation» and «picturesqueness»[98]. «Stillness», according to Buzard, refers to the traveller's solitary savour of the place, its beauty, excellence and importance. Moreover, «stillness» also conveys the sense of places where the time has ceased flowing. This motif is clearly present in *In Portugal*. While on his stay in Estremadura Bell says:

> The traveller from his bed of heather heaped in his mighty halls of pinestems, may watch through the Gothic arches the marvel of changing colours in the West and all the miracle of the light of a day that dies. All is so still that it seems as if the whole world has stopped to look on, 'breathless in adoration' […].[99]

Another motif, of «non-utility», also present in the work, has to do with perceiving nature or city/town architecture as valuable, nonetheless, not by virtue of its modern, social or economic utility, but because of being a source of a dream-like, unreal and unique experience. Bell describes Alcácer do Sal, a place not yet touched nor transformed by modernity, in this way:

[97] *Idem*, p. 34.
[98] Buzard, James. *Op. Cit*., p. 177.
[99] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 126.

> Alcácer do Sal is a picturesque old town with its houses of many tints along the Sado; crescent-shaped barges laden with *bilhas* are rowed slowly by men in pointed *gorros*, and large sailing-boats take in a cargo of pinewood or charcoal or cork. The town lies on the side of a hill of cactus and aloes, on the top of which an old ruinous convent is now inhabited only by storks.[100]

«Saturation», the third motif, also apparent in the work, signifies that the traveller sees the place imbued with cultural, historical and emotional significance, which can arouse intense feelings in the observer. On his visit to the monastery of Alcobaça, Bell recalls the tragic love story of Dona Inês e Dom Pedro:

> The end of King Pedro's tomb facing that of Dona Ignez represents the last scenes in the King's life […]. The further end is sculptured in the form of a rose-window, marvellously detailed and distinct, hidden away against the wall of the Chapel. It represents the scenes in the life and death of Dona Ignez, Dom Pedro and Dona Inês reading from one book like the lovers of Dante […] the death of Dona Ignez at the *Fonte dos Amores* at Coimbra, the execution at Santarem of two of her assassins; and many other tiny scene, all so clearly chiselled and delightfully expressed in stone that here even more than at Coimbra one may feel the full sadness of her fate and the prince's undying sorrow.[101]

Finally, «picturesqueness» is one of the most recurring motifs in Bell's writings:

The name of the publication	The number of words «picturesque» and its derivations
In Portugal	15
Portugal of the Portuguese	7
The magic of Spain	7
Spanish Galicia	21

Table 1: The number of occurrences of the word «picturesque» and its derivations in the four writings of Aubrey Bell.

The author's application of «picturesqueness» is not restricted only to landscape or architecture though, it extends to the sights of peasants at work, their way of dressing, speaking, or their temperament. It is important to observe that in Bell's writings «picturesqueness» does not always represent a totally positive characteristic or quality. When referring to the town of Beja he calls it "picturesque but unattractive»[102], the villages of Beira Baixa are to him «picturesque and miserable»[103] and the squares of Braga are «picturesquely irregular»[104]; in *Portugal of the Portuguese*, the author, ironizing about Portuguese and Spanish Republics, says: «nowhere have political parties been more numerous and more picturesque in their names and their theories than in Spain and Portugal».[105]

[100] *Idem*, p. 66.
[101] *Idem*, p. 105.
[102] *Idem*, p. 52.
[103] *Idem*, p. 122.
[104] *Idem*, p. 175.
[105] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 168.

3.2.2. Évora, Beja and Alcácer do Sal.

One of the following chapters of *In Portugal* is dedicated to the city of Évora in which the author describes the city's architecture and the principal points of touristic interest. One of them, the square of Giraldo, holds a footnote reference that explains the origin of Bell's literary pseudonym: «Geraldo, or Giraldo, was formerly a very common name in Portugal; the surname Geraldez, or Giraldez, (Fitz Gerald) still exists».[106]

Aubrey Bell stands against any superficial comparisons between Spain and Portugal that result from little attempt to gain a serious insight into the two cultures. At the end of the same chapter the author disavows the similitude between Toledo and Évora, called by some the Toledo of Portugal. He affirms: «Evora is totally unlike Toledo, with which it has in common crumbling walls and ancient ruins and steep, narrow streets».[107]

Another city the author looks more closely at is Beja. He starts his description in a slightly harsh way, saying: «perhaps the best advice to those about to go to Beja, the second city of Alentejo, is Don't».[108] The only positive quality he recognizes in Beja is probably its picturesqueness; the recollections he has gathered being only, perhaps, rubbish on the streets, an unbearable heat and the ubiquitous poverty.

From Alentejo he proceeds to Algrave, a region which, to Aubrey Bell, conveys in some degree an ideal realm of peacefulness, tranquillity and friendly atmosphere. He uncodifies to the reader the Algarvian character, made up by the following characteristics: talkative, pleasant, calm and serene. The capital of Algarve, Faro, is described as a charming and attractive town with a fine marketplace, squares and houses. His experience of the Mediterranean enables him to state that: «over the whole place [Faro] is the true smell of the sea, which the Mediterranean never has […]».[109]

The author also recalls having witnessed there a crowded scene of distributing alms to the «poor» on behalf of the Bishop of the Algarves. In Aubrey Bell's opinion this situation creates a negative image of the town because it was unbelievable to have occurred in the twentieth century, and many of the beggars were simply undeserving of the donation.

Another step on his journey is marked in Estremadura, whose countryside differs significantly from the one of Alentejo or Algarve. In the beginning of the chapter, dedicated to that region, Bell mentions an ancient craft of charcoal burning (as he informs, described by him in more detail in the *Revista Lusitana*) and the simple life led by the local charcoal-burners.

The author describes the way to Alcácer do Sal and the character of the landscape, warning the traveller not to expect too many facilities on the way from Alentejo to the centre of the country. In one of few shops existing there, one that also serves hot dishes, Bell observes two farm-servants having a plain meal. After the

[106] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 46.
[107] *Idem*, p. 48.
[108] *Idem*, p. 50.
[109] *Idem*, p. 56.

peasants have finished their meal, takes place an interesting ritual of paying, nicely captured by Aubrey Bell:

> The inn bills or *contas* of the peasants are often repeated two or three times, with many an *Escute lá* (Listen to me) and *Deixeme fallar só* (Let me speak without interruption). Thus: "One *pataco* of bread and three *vintens* of wine, one *tostão* and *dez réis* of olives and…" and after a discussion the addition begins again; "One *pataco* of bread and three *vintens* of wine, one *tostão*…".[110]

Alcácer do Sal leaves a positive impression in the mind of Bell. Although this little town, like many others, is rich in life, colour, picturesqueness and human history, it was to Bell just a point on his map, just a place to visit and never to reside in:

> The little hanging gardens of carnations, the iron balustrades of trailing pink and red geraniums, the vine-trellises and whitewashed walls covered with vines, the grass-grown cobbled paths between huge cactus-hedges, the yellow-lichened roofs of brown tiles, and the old crumbling walls, give to Alcacer a charm and fascination, heightened by its direct communication with the sea. Certainly it is a town delightful to look on if it can scarcely be delightful to dwell in […].[111]

The peasant way of dressing always attracts a special attention of the writer. Bell examines carefully the clothes used by both men and women in Estremadura, describing their textures, colours and shapes. Next, the author indicates the best means of transport for those who wish to depart in the direction of Lisbon. For the travellers who want to stock up, Bell recommends to visit Estremaduran grocery shops, *vendas* that display a good variety of local products. The Lusophile is also struck by the unforgettable hospitality and friendliness of the Iberian people. At the end of the chapter he states:

> And these peasants, living in isolated houses or tiny villages, will offer their house (*a minha casa*) and their food (*é servido*) like Castilians, or spend much trouble and time in preparing a meal for the stranger, scouring the village for coffee or eggs, for which they will charge but a few *vintens.*[112]

3.2.3. Expatriated in Portugal.

Bell belongs to a new generation of expatriates who flee from the United Kingdom for various motives: some escape because they see a wider scope of sexual or intellectual tolerance outside their country, some because they realize that a very good exchange rate will enable them to live on a few pounds, others pretend to withdraw from the decadent and hypocritical British society, and, finally, there are also the ones who simply want to satiate their curiosity of the foreign.

Aubrey Bell resigns his post as librarian and leaves England as soon as he is offered a job as correspondent to *The Morning Post*, for which he had to cover both Iberian countries. The new job suited his interests, as it permitted him to explore the two

[110] *Idem*, p. 65.
[111] *Idem*, p. 66.
[112] *Idem*, pp. 69-70.

cultures he was so fond of, and probably also meant sufficient financial remuneration. A footnote reference in *In Portugal* to some aspects of Portuguese library service reveals his dissatisfaction with the previous salary of librarian: «thus it appears that the custom of underpaying librarians is not confined to England».[113]

Aubrey Bell is a double traveller: he is an Englishman, an expatriate, with his bag permanently unpacked in Estoril, and at the same time he is a traveller, researcher and interpreter of Portuguese and Spanish cultures, at times far away from his new Portuguese home. The author circulates among the Portuguese, studying them from the small fragments of the lives of those he observes. In his writings Bell establishes a connection between his home research in Estoril and his travelling. Even though Bell felt perfectly at home in Estoril, a place where he began to establish new roots (he intended to educate his sons as respectable Manique countrymen), he was always attached to his identity as a traveller. The question of his origin was still meaningful to him even after around thirty years of living in Portugal, with English models, practices and ideas being always a strong point of reference. In *Portugal of the Portuguese* Bell observes: «foreigners may be inclined to smile when they see foreign customs and institutions (as the British parliamentary system) distorted and misapplied in Portugal […]».[114]

3.3. Lisbon, and the centre of Portugal - its life, architecture and picturesqueness.

The next three chapters concentrate on the character, life, colour, picturesqueness, architecture, monuments and culture of the capital. In the very first lines the author expresses his astonishment at the steepness of the city's streets, routes and stairways: «the *Rua do Alecrim* […] is one of the steepest streets of this city of steep streets […]».[115] In these chapters the author glorifies Lisbon's natural beauty, its daily activity and particular way of life, its variety of cultural amenities, and also the city and the country's celebrated history. In his narrative Bell provides a vivid description of market places and popular characters, clearly identifiable with the city of Lisbon:

> The fishwomen (*peixeiras*) of Lisbon are to be seen in every part of the city […]. Their flat baskets, saucer-shaped black hats and large gold earrings, their kerchiefs of black or, more often, of bright gold, yellow, orange or green, flowing down to the waist, their stiffly folding skirts of dull green, mauve or blue, their piercing cries and tired faces render the most curious sight and sound of the city.[116]

Other unforgettable and extraordinary scenes may be witnessed in the main fish-markets of Lisbon. This is where the traveller can see the hustle of commerce and business of sellers drawing clients' attention by crying out prices and names of goods in

[113] *Idem*, p. 25.
[114] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 256.
[115] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 74.
[116] *Idem*, p. 78.

a ceaseless and repetitive way. Even so, to Aubrey Bell the city of Lisbon had been gradually losing its singularity and becoming too cosmopolitan, which is why he saw the real and true Portugal only outside great urban centres. He expresses this opinion in *Portugal of the Portuguese* and *In Portugal*:

> Indeed, it is one of the charms of Lisbon that beneath all its cosmopolitanism it has succeeded in retaining a certain rustic air.[117]

> It is a small wonder that Lisbon should have interested Borrow, since even now, when the city has lost so many of its quaintness, an old street name, a narrow archway, an ancient custom or costume continually disappearing, it has preserved its somewhat baffling and mysterious individuality, often remaining strange and unfamiliar to the visitor, even after a long stay.[118]

This is not the only problem regarding Portuguese society in the first decades of the 20th century that the author identifies. Aubrey Bell is a politically engaged writer who disagrees with the political system that prevailed in Portugal after the 5 October 1910 Revolution. The author disagrees with the pseudo-liberal Portuguese Republic and manifests a political and social discontent with various decisions taken by the Republican government. He also disapproves of people's widespread indifference towards politics:

> They [people in Portugal] are in fact much more apt to be indolently indifferent, ever ready to say of a government, whether Monarchist or Republican: *nem é bom nem é ruim* […]. The Portuguese peasant preserves a noble independence, and if at an election he votes as he is directed without a thought or murmur, it is that he is practical, and considers the result of an election to be quite immaterial to his affairs […].[119]

3.3.1. Bell's anti-republicanism.

According to Bell, the decisions of consecutive Republican governments lead the country towards an absolute social rupture, disintegration, chaos, political turbulence, as well as a spiritual and economical poverty. The author's opinions become more severe with time. *In Portugal* evidences the beginning of this critique that centres on some general aspects of society's affairs in present conditions, whereas *Portugal of the Portuguese* openly scorns the Republicans for their complete failure in questions concerning the Church, education, economy, international policy, decentralization of power, effective administration and democratization.

Bell sees Progress, represented by the Republic, in direct correlation with uniformity, cosmopolitanism, an almost fanatical zeal for change and a passionate determination to break up with old patterns and traditions. He affirms:

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[117] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 44.
[118] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 81.
[119] *Idem*, p. 5.

> [N]ow the priests are forbidden to wear their cassocks, many of them having but a slovenly appearance in slouching black suits, soft shirts, and bowless or black squash hats; and by a decree of the Republic the students of Coimbra are not obliged to wear their gowns. Thus Progress extends its dreary net of grey uniformity over the land; and neglect of old traditions is one of the contradictions in the character of a people whose eyes turn willingly to the past […].[120]

As it has already been referred, Bell suffered imprisonment in both countries in the times of the Republic, and, in Spain, was once a victim of police coercion. The author did not deposit trust neither in the Republic, nor in the organized civil forces of both Spain and Portugal. It was actually the Spanish Guardia Civil that he blamed for bringing fear and terror to the roads of Spain. According to Edgar Wigram, another English traveller to the Peninsula, the Guardia Civil was the only menace to the traveller in Spain.[121] In Bell's opinion, there was a substantial discrepancy between the crime, the fault and the punishment in Spain which, along with the fugitive act, he strongly disapproved of:

> Famishing men are dragged off to prison for rooting up onions on a rich man's estate, and shot down by the Guardia Civil when they try to escape- the official report runs: "the prisoners attempted to escape, and were overtaken by an accident from which a natural death ensued."[122]

The Lusophile thoroughly criticized the policy of Republican governments in Portugal and Spain that were, in his eyes, responsible for all the evils of the time, such as: caciquism, corruption, abuse of power and poverty. He would always look down on governmental measures of any kind and despise the majority of the decisions taken by the Republican politicians. In *Portugal of the Portuguese* he argues:

> The Democrat party will always be known as the party which, under cover of the World War, raised itself to power over the dead bodies of its fellow-countrymen.[123]

Moreover, according to Douglas Wheeler, it was Aubrey Bell who in the years 1911-1912 initiated a humanitarian campaign in favour of the political prisoners.[124] This subject was touched upon many times in his writings to *The Morning Post*, as well as in *Portugal of the Portuguese* and *In Portugal*. The situation of Portuguese prisoners, illustrated by Aubrey Bell in *Portugal of the Portuguese*, was dramatically grave. We learn from Bell that the number of prisons and detention centres throughout the country outnumbered churches and schools. Obviously, the Republican regime was not prepared for such a large number of detainees, who got banded together with criminals and juvenile delinquents. A solution developed by the Republicans for prison

[120] *Idem*, p. 9.
[121] Wigram, Edgar Thomas Ainger. *Northern Spain, Pained and Described*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906: 52-53.
[122] Bell, Aubrey. (1912b), *Op. Cit*., p. 204.
[123] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 215.
[124] Wheeler, Douglas L. *Republican Portugal: a Political History, 1910-1926*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978: 98

overcrowdedness was to transform old convents and various public buildings into prisons, however, many times their internal arrangements were ill-adapted for the purpose.

Prisoners in Portugal at the time were habitually underfed. According to Bell, «to give a meal to prisoners is a recognized form of private charity, and stands between them and actual starvation».[125] What is more, the Republican solution to the problem of street begging, was dealt with in the most violent and unscrupulous way, as beggars would be imprisoned and then deported overseas, «with less care or concern than a cargo of frozen meat»[126], affirms the Lusophile. It was hard for Bell to comprehend that a deep sense of compassion and such «barbaric neglect of prisons and prisoners»[127] would make part of the same nation.

Aubrey Bell's viewpoint on the regime was unchangeably radical and hostile. The author would animadvert on basically every decision of the Republicans, as well as on the shape of every reform programme, its adoption, form and the pace in which it was to be implemented. This approach reflects a contradicting nature of his character and testimony: Bell can be considered a compassionate person, as he occasionally got distressed by the sufferings he witnessed (like that of the prisoners «white and hungry, stretching out their hands through the bars», or like the one of the Monarchists hunted and beaten on the streets for their political beliefs); on the other hand, though, he failed to recognize the merit of political reforms that were intended to increase the political participation of the citizens, that would lead to political democracy, that included the legalization of divorce or encouraged feminine emancipation. Unfortunately his political opinions must be regarded as highly conservative, one-sided and tendentious, for he would share them with the rest of his countrymen.

3.3.2. Sintra and Aubrey Bell's 'anti-touristic *angst*'.

After visiting Lisbon Bell moves on to the next step in his journey around Portugal which is Sintra. In the chapter dedicated to this town Bell, just like in the other sections of the book, recalls various legends and anecdotes that are associated with the Monarchy or national heroes. This literary and historical input makes Bell's writing unconventional and singular.

Not only does the author attempt to portray the magnificent palaces and castles the town is so famous for, but he also draws the traveller's attention to the native flora of the place, as well as Sintra's cultivated gardens of various types. Sintra has always been a touristic location that enhanced the appeal of a paradise. Places like Sintra attract travellers and tourists who, on their part, usually attract commerce that makes places lose the qualities that initially attracted tourists. According to Richard Butler, destinations like this one «carry with them the potential seeds of their own

[125] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 50.
[126] *Idem*, p. 57.
[127] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 10.

destruction».[128] This possible transformation of Sintra absorbs at first Bell's thoughts, however, as he finally admits, Sintra appears to have maintained its original status and identity.

The town receives then a well deserved eulogy from Aubrey Bell:

> […]although it cannot disappoint, but must surprise and enchant all those who go there, it is not a little difficult to write of Cintra, since in the first place it cannot be described, and, secondly, it has been described so often.[129]

The attitude the author reveals in this chapter is likely to be viewed as anti-touristic. Anti-tourists' main objective is to avoid areas invaded and corrupted by masses at all costs. Such locations are defined by Fussell as «pseudo-places», that is sites drained of any local particularity and character. Likewise, «pseudo-places» are homogenous, «placeless», and meant to evoke a familiar image.[130]

Bell's «tourist *angst*» is signalled in the following passage:

> Possibly many of those who go to Portugal have a certain prejudice against Cintra and are even at times inclined to leave it unvisited. They are a little weary of the intervening of its glorious Eden, they have heard it so often praised in verse and prose, the name is so familiar, the beauty recognized by all, it has become like one of those great classics which everyone knows so well but which no one has great curiosity or incentive to read.[131]

This is not the only anti-tourist sentiment that Bell reflects though. The author seems to distance himself from conventional tourists and «mass tourism», as well as his own compatriots on the Peninsula. Bell considers himself a *bona-fide* and long-term appreciator, researcher, critic and traveller, as opposed to short-term visitors and holidaymakers. In his writings Bell addresses his reader as «the traveller»; the author encourages him to step off the «beaten track»; he also undermines the irreplaceability of «red books» and argues against the encroachment of «pseudo-places». Speaking of Sintra, Bell comments ironically on the reported presence of English tourists:

> But the most obnoxious thing in Cintra now, besides the English everywhere spoken, is […] a thing so small that it might escape notice, a sign-board high up on the "many-winding mountain-way" that leads to the *Castello da Pena* bearing the inscription *Avenida de Candido dos Reis*.[132]

Bell expresses a similar concern in *Portugal of the Portuguese* where he defends many places of interest from environmentally insensitive and destructive «mass-tourism»:

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[128] Butler, Richard, ed. *The tourism area life cycle: applications and modification*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2006: 4.
[129] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 90.
[130] Fussell, Paul. *Op. Cit*., p. 43.
[131] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 90.
[132] *Idem*, p. 92.

> It [Batalha] must ever continue to be one of chief attractions to those who visit Portugal, and it is to be hoped that it will ever retain its rustic situation, far from trains, hotels and all those appurtenances of civilization which usually dog the tourist's footsteps.[133]

However, on the other hand, we may also notice quite a contrary attitude upon the matter of tourism in the publications of Aubrey Bell. In *Portugal of the Portuguese* the author indirectly persuades potential investors to come to Portugal and urbanize the coast of Cascais for touristic purposes:

> There is a road for part of the way from Cascaes along the coast with sand-dunes, and hollows of scented cistus and many a delightful cove or broader sandy bays, which are now without a house, but might at the whim of fashion- *absit omen*- become favourite and crowded watering-places.[134]

Although, it has never been Bell's intention to transform the places he visited in Portugal into «pseudo-places» (e.g. Paul Fussell uses the Algarve as a typical example of a «pseudo-place»[135]), his writings incited many to travel to Portugal, what defines him as an accomplice of the creation of the tourism industry in Portugal. James Buzard believes that «while tourists pursue their anti-touristic ends, they fuel tourism's industry and its coercive construction of the foreign».[136]

3.3.3. Batalha, Alcobaça and Mafra.

The following chapter focuses on Portugal's two famous monasteries: Alcobaça and Batalha (the author also mentions Aljubarrota, the site of a famous battle fought between the royal armies of King John I of Castile and of King John I of Portugal), as well as on the palace-monastery of Mafra. The national palace of Mafra did not impress most favourably the author. He calls the reader's attention to a record number of workers employed to its construction, the overall cost of the enterprise and the building's countless windows and doors. Bell seems to have found life beyond the palace more overwhelming than the monumental architecture itself. The author describes the countryside around the village of Mafra, its flora and the people he meets on his way.

The Lusophile manifests a very different view on Alcobaça's monastery, forming an especially flattering opinion on the monastery's church:

> The interior of its church, over three hundred feet long, is of a severe and marvellous beauty, the perfectly plain pillars, twenty-four in number and over sixty feet high, going up to the very roof and dividing the nave from two very narrow side aisles.[137]

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[133] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 95.
[134] *Idem*, p. 78.
[135] Fussell, Paul. *Op. Cit*., p. 43.
[136] Buzard, James. *Op. Cit*., p. 12.
[137] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 103.

Unlike in Mafra, Bell studies with scrutiny the monastery's architecture and history (including the tragic love affair of Inês de Castro and Prince Pedro of Portugal). The Lusophile takes advantage of the fact that various poets and writers have dwelt upon the story of these unfortunate lovers and resolves to incorporate a few citations of Camões and Garcia de Resende into his work.

The author's discourse on Batalha monastery's architecture is packed with a number of descriptive adjectives that reflect the unique beauty of the building. He fully appreciates the detail and nuance of the arches, pillars and framed windows.

At the end of his visit Bell conveys an unspoken desire for those three places (Mafra, Batalha, Alcobaça) to remain untouched by «mass tourism» and to maintain their identity, authenticity, as well as local culture and tradition:

> It is no slight charm of Batalha, as of Alcobaça and of Mafra, that the village has an appearance of being still as it were a dependency of the Convent, and has not acquired any pretensions of its own.[138]

3.3.4. Leiria and Tomar.

On the occasion of presenting the town of Leiria, Bell gives a portrait of King Dinis, who ordered the building of Alcobaça's cloister and planting of the pine forest in the neighbourhood of Leiria, and, most importantly for the present chapter, on whose order the castle of Leiria was erected.

The little town of Leiria charmed the author with its steep cobbled streets, its population dressed in vivid colours, its numerous gardens with flowers and fruit-trees, a fascinating entrance-arch to a local church, and, obviously, its graceful castle of Dom Dinis. The very last lines of the chapter are dedicated to the evening busy life of the town observed by Bell from the castle-walls. The author leaves Leiria behind with a feeling of genuine but melancholic satisfaction:

> Everywhere was a sense of peace, and even in these narrower streets a feeling of the open country. For, lying among wooden hills, many of them crowned by a white church, Leiria has an air and scent of many trees and open fields, a little town pleasant in itself and in the country that surrounds it.[139]

The next phase of his journey into the country leads Aubrey Bell to Tomar and Beira Baixa. Before the author starts his description of Tomar, he gives a brief account of the road that joins Leiria and Tomar, «illustrating» life in the local countryside. Tomar's important characteristic is a number of small churches from different periods and rough-cobbled streets with small shops that crown the main square, Praça da República. However, the author's main interest certainly lies in the Convent of Christ. Bell recognizes the beauty of Manueline architecture in the construction of the church,

[138] *Idem*, p. 113.
[139] *Idem*, p. 117.

as well as in multi-form decorative motifs and naturalistic symbols of the sea in the Convent's interiors.

The three last though extensive paragraphs of this chapter characterize the countryside in the town's neighbourhood as well as the enchanting scenery on the way to Beira Baixa. The author is a true nature-lover who appreciates local wilderness, forests, untamed and uncivilized environments in every place that he goes to visit.

3.4. Bell's proximity to nature and the *topos* of Nature in his publications.

His affection for Nature, plants and landscape is also reflected in the next chapter, headed "Pinewoods of Extremadura". Aubrey Bell reveals here a truly Romantic insight into the natural world and rural life. The countryside of Portugal is perceived as an attraction and therefore is equalled with the country's monasteries, castles and monuments in general.

«Picturesqueness» is central to the author's description of the natural environment and local life. This motif is identified with the old world, past traditions, and also social and cultural background; it naturally clashes with the new world of progress, new trends, modern ideas and blind reformism identified by Bell with the Republic. Anna Jameson claimed that: «civilization, cleanliness, and comfort, are excellent things, but they are sworn enemies to the picturesque […]».[140]

Aubrey Bell, certainly inspired by Gothic fiction and Romantic poetry, would always search for picturesque and overwhelming views, mountain, moorland and forest sceneries in all the regions of the Peninsula, and would always attempt to interpret that mysterious, softly tinted, beautiful Iberian sky. When touching upon the subject of the Iberian countryside, Bell displays deep and gentle sensitivity for the wild and romantic.

3.5. Aubrey Bell and his South.

Although in his publications Aubrey Bell makes very obvious his political opinions, his preoccupations for Iberian societies, as well as his enthusiasm and delight in Iberian literature, Nature and rural life, there is very little that the author reveals about his personal experiences as a traveller. However, from some of his observations we can conclude that he knew, like so many of his contemporaries, the Mediterranean (Italy, Sicily, Greece and France), and was also familiar with the Swiss countryside.

The South (the Holy Land and Palestine) and the Mediterranean (especially Italy and in the second place Greece) were considered by the Victorians and the Edwardians (namely, their upper and middle classes) the cradle of humanity and civilization, which is one of the reasons why many of them were regular visitors to those countries. John Pemble calls the South of that period «the haunt of the British artists, academics, and literati».[141]

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[140] Jameson, Anna. *Visits and sketches at home and abroad: with tales and miscellanies now first collected*. London: Saunders and Otley, 1834: 279.

[141] Pemble, John. *The Mediterranean Passion*: Victorians and Edwardians in the South. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987: 4.

The entire Mediterranean world received large numbers of travellers but it was Italy that continued attracting massive attention. The British held Italy in admiration mixed with respect and a sense of greatness. Italy though was the only country that the English were willing to take as a point of reference in the areas that concerned art, aesthetics, music, literature and painting.[142] In the "Preface" to *The magic of Spain* Bell acknowledges:

> It is not easy in a few words to account for the strange Oriental spell that Spain has exercised over many minds, nor to explain the potency of its attraction. For indeed the great Peninsula possesses a special spice and flavour. It has not the immemorial culture of Italy, nor the pleasant landscapes of France with her green meadows and crystal streams.[143]

Unlike in the era of the Grand Tour, these travellers would pay annual visits to the Mediterranean countries (in particular to Italy and the south of France), often enjoying their stay from autumn till Easter; thus, the time of their departure was deliberately chosen in order to avoid the months unadvisable for travel in the southern countries.[144] Aubrey Bell also shows his concern for the well-being of the traveller by giving him hints on the best period to travel in the Peninsula. The author also expresses an opinion that supports the current views on the matter of travelling:

> The Estoril climate even excels that of Lisbon, being slightly warmer in winter and cooler in summer. It is a little surprising that more foreigners do not settle temporarily or permanently in this region, which is so easy of access and has so many advantages.[145]

Even though the travel literature on the Iberian countries has its roots well into the late Middle Ages,[146] at the times of Bell, Spain and Portugal were still considered countries lying off the «beaten track». The reason for this lack of interest was that neither Spain nor Portugal had been included in the itineraries of the Grand Tour. This tendency, or ignorance, continued till the end of the nineteenth century, thereby keeping those countries remote for the majority of Victorian and Edwardian travellers.

«In Italy strangers seem to be at home and the natives to be exiles», observed in 1854 an American traveller to that country.[147] Italy and southern France were appealing to the British because their popular tourist resorts would evoke the familiar, thanks to British fashions, manners, services and facilities.[148] Surprisingly, even though some travellers, like e.g. Aubrey Bell, sought in the South different values, principles, norms and components than the ones that define the modern world and a modern, advanced society, they would not renounce some little comforts, pleasures and luxuries prepared

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[142] *Idem*, p. 60.
[143] Bell, Aubrey. (1912b), *Op. Cit.*, p. vii.
[144] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.
[145] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 80-81.
[146] "The problem of Spanish nationalism", Payne, Stanley G. *Fascism in Spain, 1923-1977*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999: 9.
[147] Hillard, George Stillamn. *Six months in Italy* 1. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1854: 184.
[148] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit.*, p. 43.

for travellers abroad. Aubrey Bell informs his reader about the services (un)available in Estoril:

> Gambling, on a large scale, and great luxury, it is true, he [the Englishman] will not find, but cleanliness and ordinary comfort are to be had at the existing hotels, and any other deficiencies are amply compensated for by the excellent climate and the charms and interest of the surrounding country, and by the courtesy and helpfulness of its inhabitants. It is not often that travellers can live in a comfortable hotel, have English newspapers, English books […], English tinned foods and tobacco, all the delights and none of the drawbacks of a southern climate […].[149]

Another characteristic of Victorian and Edwardian travelogues, also present in Aubrey Bell's writing, is the justification of travelling. Travel, and especially that to the South, had to be purposeful. According to James Johnson, «long residence in foreign countries tends to sap or at least to weaken the force of British patriotism».[150] Travellers adopted a more relaxed form of behaviour only after the Great War, argues Pemble.[151]

Based on Bell's writings, the author could never be accused of being unpatriotic; however, the causes for his and his family's absence in the homeland had always been clearly specified. His mother's reason to leave the United Kingdom and to settle in the south of France was her poor health, and Bell's motive to live in a foreign country was his work as correspondent, as well as the desire to pave the way with his publications for a better comprehension of the Iberian countries, cultures and peoples. In the "Preface" to *Portugal of the Portuguese* he writes:

> Great Britain has everything to gain from a better understanding of a people with which she has so many dealings, and which is in itself so extraordinarily interesting and attractive.[152]

3.6. The north of Portugal.

In the escapade to the country's north, Bell discovers the Serra da Estrela, to which he dedicates an entire chapter. In this chapter Bell provides a general geographical and anthropological outline of this part of the country, its various mountain ranges, inhabitants, their way of dressing and their activities, however, it was the great natural features of that region that caused the biggest impact on the author and to which he pays the most assiduous attention.

Local markets would always rivet Bell's interest, which is why details concerning what they specialize in, the days they operate, as well as their geographical location, were recognized by the author as particularly relevant for travellers who wished to sample local products and to witness actions in which different socio-economic needs meet; these were, to Bell, the small centres of economic activity

[149] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 81.
[150] Johnson, James. *Change of air or the pursuit of health and recreation (through France, Switzerland and Italy, &c.)*. London: S. Highley, 1835: 272.
[151] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit*., p. 54.
[152] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. v-vi.

through which flow innumerable varieties of goods and which bring together hundreds of colourfully dressed people. Aubrey Bell reports:

> Twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays, there is high market at Covilhã. Then the *Praça do Municipio* is from an early hour filled with women sitting on the cobbles in front of huge baskets of broa […], selling them at a *vintem*, a *meia tostão* and a *tostão*. Immediately above, in a second «praça» is the market of fruit and vegetables and of large flat cheeses. The women wear their kerchiefs entirely covering the hair and tied beneath the chin, of every conceivable shade of blue and green and yellow, red, orange, purple, brown; some of them with a pattern of flowers, and nearly all of delicate soft dyes, so that the open, densely crowded market of moving colours in this *praça* is a sight extraordinarily beautiful.[153]

The following chapter concentrates on the local life of two villages in Serra da Estrela, Verdelhos and Manteigas. In describing these two pleasant rural areas, Aubrey Bell focuses on such aspects as: the scenery, architecture, local outfits and hospitality. On the occasion of the author's mentioning a small square in Verdelhos, the reader is reminded again of his political standpoint. Bell thus associates the travelogue with the literature of political protest to disagree with governmental decisions and actions. However, he cannot be called a conspirator, whatever complaint that he had to make, he made it openly. John Pemble claimed that some British writers:

> [S]ignified in their accounts of journey to the South a hostility towards the values of the modern world and a desire to withdraw from its problems and complexities. They wrote less as the representatives of their society than as its casualties and defeated rebels. Their work proclaims the sadness and the anger of men who were at odds with contemporary life, and who were looking not for action but for rest.[154]

3.6.1. Bell's defence of the Church.

As regards this description, Bell may be considered an enemy of modern society that runs afoul with its own traditional values and aspires to develop cosmopolitan and hybrid cultures and identities. Besides, it is very frequent for him to show hostility towards the Republic and social progress, and to reject the inevitability of modernity.

One of the causes the author strongly defends is the religious question. His point was that Portugal had never been an anti-clerical country and this new movement merely echoed many of the slogans of the French Revolution. Bell argued that the measures adopted to deal with the Church were inappropriate, far too radical and repressive. Aubrey Bell, a member of High-Church, was conservative and contra-revolutionary. The author, like many of his contemporaries, believed in religious instruction based on the Holy Bible. However, while many authors would keep their personal beliefs private, Bell's religious convictions were genuinely pronounced and always made explicit in his publications.

[153] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 133.
[154] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit*., p. 12.

Victorian and Edwardian societies, being intensely religious, would strongly advocate the teachings based on and the readings of the Holy Bible. It was insisted that children should read the Holy Bible for their daily instruction, and in order to develop regular habits of disciplined reading of the Holy Book. The Holy Word, it was firmly believed, was expected to be read literally, non-critically, with pastors obliged to refrain from any denominational comment when providing and coordinating religious education.[155] John Pemble explains: «the Scriptures were a fetish. It was an age of family Bibles, Bible commentaries, framed and illuminated biblical texts, Biblical classes, Bibles on lecture in railway stations, and the Bible, as an essential part of childhood experience».[156] In *Portugal of the Portuguese* Bell says:

> In a land of few industries, where a large majority of the inhabitants live by agriculture and fishing, there is but little need for book-learning, nor is there any universal book to be found in peasants' houses, as the Bible in England.[157]

3.6.2. Aubrey Bell, a solitary traveller in *In Portugal.*

The next step in Bell's journey is directed to the Cercal of Buçaco and a small village that lies below the woods, named Luso. However, set in the woods of this mountain range, in a landscape of wild beauty and in glorious isolation, the old Carmelite convent seems to have been the main purpose of the author's excursion. Fleeing from the world of progress and urban environments, Aubrey Bell finds himself walking in the woods and in the ruins, contemplating the unfortunate decline of the convent, as well as the outstanding beauty of wild nature that surrounds the edifice. He appears to have found there, like in many other places in the Portuguese countryside, spiritual solace and comfort. This is where the author discovers innocence, peace, retreat and meditation, the qualities that allow him to channel in the best way his enthusiasm for Portugal. Aubrey Bell liked to live and work in silence and solitude, and Portuguese nature would open this silent wonder to him. In the end of the chapter he writes:

> The sunset sky appears through the trees cut into little globes of intense flame-coloured light, as though the branches were hung with a magic splendour of myriad oranges. Probably nowhere in Europe are there so many cedars as at Bussaco […].[158]

Aubrey Bell belonged to the group of travellers who looked for refuge away from cosmopolitan «pseudo-sites», haunted by others for the purpose of socialization, health recovery or cultural education. Bell recognized and highly appreciated the timeless, sparse, unspoiled and wild countryside, deserted roads, small village temples and churches, rural monasteries, as well as sturdy, sociable and genuine country people.

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[155] Davie, Peter. *Raising up a faithful people*. Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1997: 15.
[156] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit*., p. 56.
[157] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 71.
[158] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., pp. 146-147.

The author, ascribed a non-academic identity, dedicates three and a half pages, the chapter that comes after the description of Buçaco, to the University of Coimbra and its town. Bell reveals again in this section of the travelogue his admirable qualities of projecting in the reader's mind the pictures and images that occur to their perception with the freshness of first impressions. Thanks to the vivid and colourful description of the architecture and the scenes of life that he witnessed, the reader, as if, can see it with his own eyes. He observes:

> The water [of the Mondego] is green and exquisitely transparent; a pine-covered hill farther up stream across the line of the river seems to block its course, and along a white curve of sand carts drawn by dark-brown oxen are being loaded, and women wash clothes from dawn to dusk, standing in the water.[159]

3.6.3. Coimbra and Porto.

The city of Coimbra leaves definitely an indelible imprint in the reader's mind and memory. Bell asserts:

> From the court of the University, close to the entrance of the Library, there is a view of the fruitful valley of the Mondego and of the hills beyond, which is one of the most beautiful views in Portugal, and that is not saying little, in this land of 'goodly prospects'.[160]

Located in the heart of Coimbra, the only university of the country is portrayed as a lively centre meant to benefit society, for this is where governmental officials and public authorities would «initiate» their political careers. As we are informed by Bell, it counts among its graduates many famous figures from the Portuguese literary world, e.g. Camões and Almeida-Garrett. However, in the times of Bell this was a place of increasing political tensions and conflicts between the conservatives and the Republicans.[161]

Architecturally, the most interesting buildings of the city, according to his relation, are the University, the Sé Velha and the Old Convent that houses a famous legend of Queen Elizabeth of Portugal, in whose apron occurred a miracle of transforming the bread, carried by her for the poor, into roses, which allowed her to avoid the anger of her husband, King Dinis.

From Coimbra the author proceeds to the city of Porto which creates a very positive impression on the traveller, who always awaits more wild nature and the countryside where he can grasp the real spirit of the country and its people. Porto is much more industrial and far less cosmopolitan than the Portuguese capital. What he discovers in the labyrinth of its steep streets is the busy life of an energetic and prosperous city centre. However, the author also recognizes the wealth of the city's architecture, as well as its diverse, urban gardens.

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[159] *Idem*, pp. 149-150.
[160] *Idem*, p. 154.
[161] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 58.

In his works Aubrey Bell recalls several times the figure of the Duke of Wellington. This historical personage is associated with the Peninsular War and the city of Porto, where on May 11th took place a daring passage of the river Douro by Wellington in order to defeat the French and capture the city. In a brief passage the author asserts the general's tactic and strategic skills in carrying out that successful *coup de main* operation: «it is from the high bridge of Dom Luiz I that one may best realize how deep and steep the gorge is, and the immense difficulty of throwing an army across the river».[162]

In Porto, just like in other places visited by Bell, we are made able to «spectate» quaint scenes involving daily life activities of common people, such as women washing clothes in the river or people selling goods on the street or in small, local shops.

3.6.4. The preference for the unfamiliar.

It is important to observe that the Lusophile was not looking for the familiar in the Iberian Peninsula, which was the case of many of his fellow colleagues journeying to the South in that period. Having received classical education or having completed a long period of preparation for the travel, scrutinizing countless volumes of handbooks, guidebooks, essays, history books, etc., with the information concerning their destination location, these travellers would set off with high expectations and formerly pre-established opinions. John Pemble argues:

> Few tourists can have reached the level of academic expertise […]; but many aimed at it and went on their way overloaded with information and judgments about art and history which determined both the things they saw and how they saw them.[163]

These anticipations made them feel that they had been familiar with the visited places before they actually saw them. It was common among travellers to the South to experience the feeling of *déjà vu*, recognition, familiarity and recollectiveness. This sensation of affinity would also help to simplify the South and the experience of the South.[164] This was not Bell's objective though. The author must have, obviously, planned his trips; however, a touch of surprise was always present. Bell always cherished the moments of harmony, relaxation and joy when being in union with nature:

> When the north wind has driven every cloud from the sky, one seems here to have come to a heavenly undiscovered country: at the back a huge uninterrupted semicircle of mountains, their steep lower flanks covered with pinewoods; at the north end of this semicircle the purple crags of lofty Pindo outlined on the soft turquoise sky; in front glimpses through pines of the sapphire bay, foam round an islet of rock and in an inner lagoon of pale turquoise separated from the sapphire by a white tongue of sand. [165]

[162] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 160.
[163] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit*., p. 70.
[164] *Idem*, pp. 113-120.
[165] Bell, Aubrey. (1922b), *Op. Cit*., p. 92.

3.6.5. Attention to colour.

Besides his great awareness of nature, the colour-sensitivity of Aubrey Bell is another characteristic of his writing resonant with Romantic influences, which gives his style a peculiar glow and animation that may intensify the reader's sympathy with that world and his desire to see it all with his own eyes.

The name of the publication.	The number of words «colour» and its derivations.
In Portugal	49
Portugal of the Portuguese	19
The magic of Spain	51
Spanish Galicia	62

Table 2: The number of occurrences of the word «colour» and its derivations in the four writings of Aubrey Bell.

Out of the forty nine occurrences of the word throughout the travelogue *In Portugal*, twenty two have to do with the colours of textiles and fabrics dyed in the clothes of common people he observes on his way, with female kerchiefs and dresses being the elements that he discusses most frequently. Other aspects depicted by the author are the weather and the scenery, such as houses, market places and the natural world.

Aubrey Bell's next step led him to the Province of Minho. The chapter under that title is the longest in the travel book what may suggest a special affinity towards this region. The more he advances towards the north, the more the countryside resembles that of a northern country; the heat is no less intense though. In Matosinhos Bell recalls a poem by Francisco de Sá e Meneses about the stream of Leça in which the lyrical subject discovers the idyllic landscape of that river and finds there pastoral peace. The author presents an interesting panorama of the rural life of the Minhotans, with peasants being in the focus of his attention. The author observes that women use their heads to carry all the loads and that an umbrella is a frequent requisite to occupy idle hands; other elements, such as peasant outfits, also do not escape his attention.

3.7. Travelling in Portugal vs. travelling in Spain.

Bell's personal recommendation to the reader/traveller is to walk, as the best way to get to know the country. However, he sees a slight drawback to travelling on foot in Portugal:

> [W]hile in Spain the dust and stones and lack of shelter make it often equally wearisome to rest or to proceed, in Portugal the difficulties in walking are of another order. For here cool shade and

> pleasant streams are never long absent, and the scenery offers an excuse for prolonging a rest from hour to hour.[166]

When it comes to journeying, Bell reveals that except for a few trade commuters the roads in Portugal are often deserted and few travellers actually frequent them. He continues saying that at those times there still existed villages in Portugal cut off from the world, with no road communication with the outside. He even goes on to quote a popular rhyme regarding the bad condition of the road to Elvas: «Se fores a Elvas segue direitinho, olha não tropeces que é mau o caminho».[167]

Another difficulty is an extremely narrow, Portuguese mountain road that twists like a snake and «seems to separate rather than connect»[168] neighbouring villages, argues Bell. However, all the inconveniences and fatigues of travel are compensated by splendid views of plentiful, wild flowers growing by the road-side, as well as picturesquely perched villages, beautiful hills and valleys, fertile meadows and shady olive groves.

The author, an experienced traveller to the Iberian Peninsula, evaluates Portuguese roads as far better maintained than those in Spain. Although the author goes on to complain that there are too few trains running in Portugal, what significantly slows down the journey's speed, he acknowledges that train benches in Portuguese trains are more convenient and the company of Portuguese passengers is far less disturbing than the one of their Spanish counterparts. This is not the only Portuguese transport facility that, in the opinion of the Lusophile, provides more comfort than its Spanish equivalent. Spanish diligence is for Aubrey Bell, by no means, the least recommendable means of Iberian transport, unlike the Portuguese carriage, called *carro de correio* that proved to be less fatiguing. Even though the journey through Portugal might have been prolonged and a bit tedious at times, Bell confesses:

> Portugal is not a country in which it is pleasant to be in a hurry […]. It is folly for the traveller in Portugal to hurry; everywhere the exquisite scenery, the wonderful buildings, the pleasant hills and streams, woods and gardens […].[169]

3.8. The motif of light and a peasant woman.

Another element that reappears frequently in the travelogues on the Mediterranean is light.[170] Due to the fact that in the times of Bell London succumbed to the effect of pollution, making the atmosphere and the air quality poor and unhealthy, many of the tourists found the Mediterranean light delightful, charming and, most importantly, translucent. That nostalgia for light is also characteristic of Bell. Even though the author does not make any reference to the situation in his home country, he clearly shows a preference for the southern setting. In numerous passages we shall

[166] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 202.
[167] *Idem*, p. 197.
[168] *Idem*, p. 141.
[169] *Idem*, p. 26.
[170] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit*., p. 150.

encounter expressions like: «blue sky», «clear blue sky», a sky of «soft light blue», «the softest imaginable blue», of «clearest turquoise», «clearest green», «intense light», «soft and beautiful», «cloudless» and «glowing». Even the winter sky is attractive to him: «the winter sky, clear and luminous, is not less beautiful, and reappears after rain in a fresher radiance»[171], he writes. Light evokes a comfortable feeling of safety, well-being and life. The Portuguese night sky is for Bell mysteriously beautiful, thoroughly relaxing and calm:

> [O]ften the summer sky in Portugal by night scarcely seems to lose its clear softness of day; the stars appear lightly set without intensity, a faint mist of sprinkled silver sinking into a yielding woof of grey rather than, as, for instance, in Andalucía, hard knobs of glowing gold thronging into a sky of deepest blue.[172]

Female way of dressing is especially underlined in the work. In Bell's eyes Portuguese peasant women dress in a very picturesque way, using bright and vivid colours, with their heads always bound in brilliant kerchiefs and, in the region of Minho, draped with gold jewellery that makes part of their traditional outfits. The jewellery that adorns each woman is supposed to show their families' wealth, however, no doubt, some scenes, depicted by the author, can provoke a smile from the reader:

> [A]ll the ornaments […] of real though perhaps not very fine gold, are thick and heavy, and many of them curiously worked, so that it is strange to see these gilt peasant-women barefoot, chaffering over the price of a lettuce or a chicken.[173]

3.9. The uniqueness of the north and Portuguese hospitality.

What also makes the provinces of Minho and Trás-os-Montes particularly interesting and unique for Bell is their religiousness, some typical linguistic expressions, peasant yokes, *cangas* or *mulhelhas*, capes of *caroça* used by peasants to protect against strong winter rains, picturesque valleys and hills with vine-clad slopes, fine gardens, orchards and fruit yards, small, neat churches half hidden among trees, as well as lovely but solid, grey granite houses.

Bell was delighted with Portuguese hospitality, politeness and flattering kindness. The author noted that strangers are treated here with honour, consideration and respect; and any foreign traveller is always welcomed and received indoors as a person of great importance. Portuguese and Castilian hospitality are distinguished as most generous and exemplary out of all Iberian peoples (e.g. he observed that Basque and Galician hospitality was less lavish and sumptuous). Bell cherished the courtesy and civility of the Portuguese towards strangers considering it genuine and innate:

> The serviceableness of the peasants who crowd the inn and their hospitality to the stranger are unfailing, one going out to the burning sun to fetch icy water, another to look for a loaf or a part

[171] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 73.
[172] *Idem*, p. 126.
[173] *Idem*, pp. 168-169.

> of a loaf of yellow maize-bread, a third offering cigarettes, another going hundreds of yards to point out the way across the *serra* to Manteigas.[174]

However, the author also affirms that Portuguese hospitality may not be entirely disinterested, being biased by other interests and advantages. In Bell's opinion, the Portuguese, in his friendly attitude towards an outlander, can manifest an egoistic desire to: «stand well in the eyes of the stranger»[175]; moreover, the Portuguese also beneficiates from the mutual cultural exchange, with Bell being a «broker of contacts among cultural domains»[176], for instance, teaching local peasants that «England is not Oporto»[177] and communicating knowledge of this country to his compatriots in England.

Aubrey Bell felt himself perfectly safe on the roads of the Iberian Peninsula and in the urban centres where he came to witness political demonstrations of mass society. The common people he crossed with on his trips were generally helpful, civil and very attentive. Many of the travellers to the South saw the civilized ways and behaviour of peoples of the South in contrast with the rude, rough and aggressive ways of the northern people, and especially when they gather in a crowd.[178] It is also true for Bell who never found the Iberian crowd menacing, what is more, he attests, in Portugal many times people seemed to assemble out of sheer curiosity, listen to political speeches and then look upon the events with indifference, because in Portugal «the mass of people is equally unfanatic».[179]

Those who travelled to the South feared revolutions, anticlericalism and anarchy[180], which is why the Iberian Peninsula could possibly have been avoided by many Victorian and Edwardian tourists. Nevertheless, the author guarantees that Portugal is a safe destination: «possible foreigners are afraid of revolutions but revolutions in Portugal do not as a rule affect the foreigner in the slightest degree»[181], he certifies.

The author had many opportunities of testing Portuguese hospitality, one of them occurred in a small inn on his way to Trás-os-Montes. The author dedicates one, brief chapter to describe the inn's interior, the habits of its guests, the food served, and the persons of the inn-keeper and his wife. We learn from Bell that places like this one are among the ones the traveller should definitely explore, because this is in these exciting environments that the traveller can enquire into a true Portuguese character as well as the various components of the local culture. «In winter especially», he recalls,

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[174] *Idem*, p. 138.
[175] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 12.
[176] Leed, Eric J. *The mind of the traveller*. The United States of America: Harper Collins, 1991: 15.
[177] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 24.
[178] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit*., pp. 143-144.
[179] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 63.
[180] Pemble, John. *Op. Cit*., p. 138.
[181] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 81.

«the *lareira* becomes a gathering-place where laughter and song, legends and wise sayings and proverbs find their natural expression».[182]

3.10. The mobility of a «passing stranger».

Bell's journeying possibly started with his discovery of the Iberian literature and culture in the Basque Country when still a child. However, the physical and mature journey to the Peninsula began with his departure as correspondent to *The Morning Post*. Ever since then he became a solitary wanderer, enjoying the silence and freedom on desert Iberian roads and sites: «a high wall of several kilometres surrounds the enclosure [of the convent of the Carmelites in Bussaço], and here one may wander hours in perfect freedom […]»[183], he relates.

His mobility, that special force responsible for «shaping human history»[184], brought him back to the Iberian Peninsula after a period of studies at Oxford and apprenticeship in the British Museum, what signifies that his journey structure was abundant in departures, passages and arrivals.[185]

Having in mind his experience of travel, we may say that Aubrey Bell was not very much attached to the place where he was born, nor was England an object of his returns. It was in Portugal where he resided for almost thirty years and it was his house in Estoril that he considered home and where he wanted to raise his two sons. Estoril became a place where he could breathe the air of liberty and, simply, it was a place he identified with.

For his no mention of any companion, we can assume that he was a solitary traveller in his tours in the Iberian Peninsula. In *Spanish Galicia* Bell quotes «the guide» speaking of the convent of Osera, however, all indicates that it was a travel book (had it been a hired guide, the quote would, in all likelihood, have appeared in Galician or Castilian, supplemented with the English translation by the author).

In Trás-os-Montes Aubrey Bell found again solitude and freedom from the civilization and civility: «it is not altogether easy to travel in Traz-os-Montes, of which little is known and where men know little»[186], he warns. He did not mind, though, crossing the boundaries of the unknown and the unfamiliar. His great advantage as a traveller was his perfect command of Iberian languages and the very fact that he was not

[182] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 181.
[183] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 143.
[184] Leed, Eric J. *Op. Cit*., p. 21.
[185] The sequence of his motion draws up the following scheme: departure from England → passage through France and the Basque country → arrival in the Basque country → departure for England → arrival in England → stay in England → departure for the Peninsula → passage through Spain and Portugal → arrival/residence in Portugal, Estoril (in the meantime he changed the place of residence but continued living in Estoril) → departure for the exploration of Portugal in 1911 → Portuguese landscape and urban spaces → arrival in Estoril → departure for Galicia → passage through Portugal and Galicia → arrival in Estoril (*Spanish Galicia* was published in 1922) → departure for Canada in 1940 (where he also changed house once).
[186] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 185.

a conventional «passing stranger»[187], but a stranger who had settled in Portugal, and who knew profoundly its literature and history. His travel via Portugal was not accidental, but it was a culmination of his work, research, as well as his interests and dreams.

Bell would record what he saw with his words and with photos (in case of *Portugal of the Portuguese* that contains thirty illustrations). Besides, in *Spanish Galicia* the reader is provided with nine Medieval Galician lyrics (all translated into English), fifty two popular quatrains (also translated into English), with seven modern poems from the nineteenth century Galician poets, as well as musical notations of three traditional Galician musics. Moreover, the very last chapter of *In Portugal* focuses on a Portuguese modern poet, Guerra Junqueiro, whose soul is filled with sadness, and *saudade*. It is important to observe that some of the poems and lyrics imported to his publications were translated by Aubrey Bell himself. Taking in consideration these facts, it would be highly misleading to call his travelogues superficial.

Even though one should be very careful in making comparisons between the countries he had seen, making comparisons is an instinctive component of every scholar and scientist. Leed advocates:

> The comparison is the way in which the traveller calls up a base of familiarity before the spectacle of the new and the strange, which is perceived as such only to the in relationship to the known. In doing so one may diffuse the anxiety normally associated with the strange and unusual.[188]

Cross-cultural comparisons are also present in Bell's writings, however, these comparisons are not merely visual, but prove his penetrating insight into the Iberian values, life patterns and behaviours. He cannot be objective in his judgments and opinions because via generalizations the traveller losses absolutes, however, on the other hand, this generalizing activity can «become a source orientation or the passenger and an anchor in the flux of passage»[189], says Leed.

The countryside of Trás-os-Montes brings back some familiar images, making Bell recall the homeland landscape of Dartmoor (south Devon, England) and the dark colours of Spanish *sierra*: «dull green, brown and blue».[190] Bell's description in the beginning of this chapter also centres on small, picturesque villages he discovers, meandering through this quiet, northern countryside of Portugal. The next step in Trás-os-Montes is directed to the capital of the region, Vila Real, called by the author «a delight». After a visit to Vila Real, by diligence Bell moves on to Murça where he gets to know the mayor. When describing the person of the mayor, Bell employs a sly touch

[187] Leed, Eric J. coins that expression to explain that whatever the traveller observes are just superficial images «glimpsed in passing», *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.
[188] *Idem*, p. 68.
[189] *Idem*, p. 70.
[190] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 186.

of irony about the mayor's faineance: «it was in the cool of the morning, and the walk would have been a pleasant one had dignity permitted»[191], he joked.

Bell follows his own advice about being an unhurried traveller through the Iberian Peninsula. Being sure of his destination, he takes his time to explore the landscape and discover the region's local colour and culture. His unhurriedness, humbleness and a relaxed attitude allow him to appreciate the simplicity, humility and serenity of Portuguese countryside and its people. His willingness to wait was put to the test by the inn-keeper in the village of Franco, on the way to Mirandela. She served him a meal after two hours of his waiting, however, the final result went far beyond his expectations: «*Ovos estrelados*, black coffee, an immense loaf of dark-brown rye-bread and a basket of large green figs were well worth the two hours' delay»[192], he confessed.

His next stop was Bragança, which, except for a few areas, did not impress him deeply. Bell reveals:

> Bragança and Villa Real are the only two towns of Traz-os-Montes, and they have the air of villages rather than of towns. Bragança, especially in spite of its Cathedral and eight churches and eleven Canons, has the appearance of being a mere group of houses round the *Rua direita*, humbly dependant on the magnificent ancient castle of the Braganças.[193]

Aubrey Bell, a solitary wanderer in the open fields and lonely roads, pays attention to the natural world; receptive of sights, sounds, colours, smells, and respectful of the lives of simple, uneducated people, Bell is aware of things that often pass unnoticed by other travellers. He compares the unknown of Portugal with the known of Spain, proving to the reader extensive references stored in his memory. Unfortunately, there are few personal anecdotes recorded of Bell's travels in his writings and those that appear are not meant to amuse, but to illustrate the author's point, e.g. asking the way to local peasants may prove to be, according to Bell, slightly discouraging:

> Here [in Portugal], as in Spain, *não ha atalho sem trabalho*, there is no short cut without long toil, and one must distrust all the peasants' shortcuts, while their vaguer directions, such as that one may arrive *à tardezinha*, in the little afternoon or *à noitezinha*, at the little nightfall, or that the village is *perto*, *lá acima*, or *lá embaixo*, or that one has *um bocadinho* still to go, should fill one with dismay.[194]

3.11. The Portuguese language and Portuguese modern poetry.

In the end of the travelogue the author speaks of the Portuguese language. In that chapter Bell draws an essential distinction between the Spanish and Portuguese languages, the latter ignorantly called by some, a dialect. This section is especially useful for travellers planning to learn a few words and phrases of the language, what can repay, as many Portuguese will respond positively to the one attempting to speak to

[191] *Idem*, p. 190.
[192] *Idem*, p. 191.
[193] *Idem*, p. 195.
[194] *Idem*, p. 205.

them in their own language. The author gives the reader a quick guidance to Portuguese pronunciation. His empirical correlation analysis between the pronunciation of Spanish, French and Portuguese may be particularly useful for speakers of these two languages. The author takes advantage of his knowledge of the Portuguese reality, to criticize the Gallicism of the national press and to lament on the number of words and expressions that are being transplanted daily into Portuguese. He asserts again that peasants are the true guardians of the past in the present, not only of traditional outfits, folklore, habits, ceremonies, culture, values, but also of the language, as the language, in their use, remains uncontaminated by French modes of speech. He finishes the chapter demonstrating a particular liking for diminutive forms typical of Spanish and Portuguese that increase softness in the languages.

The very last chapter of the travelogue presents the figure of Guerra Junqueiro, «a modern Portuguese poet», and concentrates on the content of a few of his poems. The main objective of Aubrey Bell in this section is to familiarize English readers with different writers than they were used to. Bell admits that to an average English reader other names than that of Camões had been meaningless for too long, which is why he aimed to extend the reader's knowledge of and sympathy for Portuguese modern poetry and literature.

Guerra Junqueiro's poetry, as we learn from Bell, is marked by a deep sadness and the sheer misery of common people such as peasants, toilers, fishermen and shepherds. The author goes on to compare Junqueiro to Victor Hugo, in all their perfections and imperfections. This comparison (of Junqueiro and Hugo) is employed various times in his writings[195], with a special emphasis given to their revolutionary attitudes and genuine compassion for the miserable, misguided and weak. Guerra Junqueiro is called by Bell: «the Portuguese Victor Hugo»[196] and «the greatest of Portugal's living poets».[197]

3.12. A contemporary traveller.

Portugal nowadays is obviously not the same country Aubrey Bell used to know and describe. Modernity, progress, development, industrialization, commercialism, and a partial decomposition of traditional culture, have become central elements at the core of the post-revolutionary period (after April 25, 1974). However, it is interesting to observe that many customs, habits and certain elements of the tradition are still vivid and got reconciled with the present and the modernity.

A contemporary traveller can still go to a bullfight in the central and southern regions of the country, attend a concert of *fado* in Lisbon or in Coimbra, and still (!) see in Nazaré women wearing the seven traditional wide skirts; besides, all over the country many local festivals continue being celebrated and Portuguese cuisine keeps simple, not very refined but wholesome and absolutely excellent. Over a hundred years ago, Aubrey

[195] Bell, Aubrey. *Portuguese Literature*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1922: 331.
Studies in Portuguese Literature. Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1914: 221-222.
[196] Bell, Aubrey. (1922a), *Op. Cit*., p. 331.
[197] Bell, Aubrey. (1914), *Op. Cit*., p. 222.

Bell used to believe that Portuguese olive oil is a fine product but «it cannot compare for excellence with the oil of Italy».[198] In our times this is no lie to say that Portuguese olive oil is one of the most highly appreciated in the world. This international success has been shared by Portuguese wines that are recognized worldwide.

The landscape of Portugal probably has changed significantly since 1911, the year of Bell's journey into Portugal. The contemporary countryside suffers much depopulation, especially in large portions of the country's interior; however, in many zones the land structure remains unchanged as huge agricultural estates in the districts of Beja, Évora or Portalegre still survive in the hands of a small percentage of people.

Perhaps social differences are now less pronounced, even in the poorer regions, and the existence of social classes is considerably less meaningful than a hundred years ago. One can still agree with many statements and opinions of Aubrey Bell that concern the Portuguese nation and society though. It is a fact that the Portuguese, comparing to some other European nations, are very calm and peaceful. Bell calls them indifferent, which they truly are many times. They are also a little bit melancholic and filled with «sadness», *saudade* that defines their identity and their nature. This expression is untranslatable into most languages, and even if there is a valid translation it seems not to be precise enough. Bell would argue that «the two characteristics most fundamentally Portuguese are perhaps a quiet human thoughtfulness and a certain wishful melancholy or *saudade*».[199]

Some of the facts expressed by Bell are no longer relevant, nor valid, e.g. Portugal's population is not smaller any more than that of the city of London[200], but exceeds it by around 2 million[201]; travelling in both Spain and Portugal is nowadays as easy as travelling in the UK or any other Western country, and hotel accommodation is excellent and wide-ranging. Unfortunately, a contemporary traveller will never see a fisherwoman, a *varina*, or a peasant woman carrying loads on her head, nonetheless, he can still witness interesting trade scenes in the fish market of the capital; even though the vendors do not use traditional kerchiefs, in which Bell delighted, they do tend to wear colourful and vibrant clothes.

In 1912, Bell advised travellers to skip the town of Beja in favour of its central-Alentejan sister, Évora. Bell could not close his eyes to the great rural poverty of that place and to piles of dirt on the cobblestone, narrow streets. Today's streets and sidewalks in this charming, colourful old town are perfectly clean, parks and gardens offer a perfect shade from the burning heat and houses are cleanly whitewashed. Even though much has changed since Bell's visit, Beja fails to attract wider attention on part of both domestic and foreign tourists.

The county's capital, perceived by Aubrey Bell as excessively cosmopolitan, has probably lost much of its originality and identity. Today, beyond any shadow of doubt, it is very cosmopolitan; however, it has not become anonymous or unwholesome. What

[198] Bell, Aubrey. (1917a), *Op. Cit*., p. 38.
[199] Bell, Aubrey. (1912a), *Op. Cit*., p. 7.
[200] *Idem*, p. 26.
[201] The world factbook, www.cia.gov.

is more, Portuguese hospitality and kindness to strangers who travel in their country continues unbounded.

Fourth Part

Conclusions

The point of departure for this dissertation has been Aubrey Bell's depiction of Portugal, its society, countryside, character, customs and traditional ways, registered in *In Portugal*. Another feature of the travelogue that has been examined were the parallels and lines of comparison drawn by the author between the two Iberian countries. Aubrey Bell acknowledges the characteristics shared by the two nations, but he also stresses pointedly the peculiarities of each one of them. The Lusophile's disesteem of the Republican regime also aroused our attention. It has been attempted to describe the accounts for his disagreement with the policy of the Republican government, with the culture of the new system, as well as with the methods adopted by the regime in order to achieve its ends.

In Portugal projects a broad picture of every region of the country, the south, the centre and the littoral, and the north. The author proceeds from the south, through the centre to the north, where the journey is accomplished. The narrative of the journey into Portugal abounds in useful and interesting travel information, as well as practical hints addressed to those disposed to follow his footsteps. The authors also provides rich descriptions of human diversity, landscape with relevant historical facts, routes, flora, towns and localities that are always distinct in their features in every Portuguese region.

Bell's impressions of Portugal are sufficiently positive. The Lusophile speaks in high praise of the Portuguese rural life and the countryside where he seeks the true Portuguese way of life and the genuine Portuguese spirit. The countryside dwellers are, in his mind, the guardians of the country's heritage and traditional culture. Bell's gaze is fascinated with the Portuguese scenery. The picturesque character of the settings he passes through (the towns, villages and the colourful nature of people) is essential in his discovery of Portugal.

It has also been our objective to determine the elements that got him disappointed; his major accusation being against the Republican government that it was unable to preserve law and order in the country, and that it consisted of people who continually failed to respond to the country's needs and emergencies. Another aspect of Bell's criticism centres on the predominance of Gallicism over Lusophilism in styles, tastes and fashions. His harsh judgement on Lisbon is motivated by the city's rage for imitating foreign manners, rendering the city destitute of identity and character.

The author's attitude towards tourism has also been studied in the work; his disregard for tourists is displayed in the manner Bell speaks about Sintra, the well-known red covered guides and «beaten tracks». Portugal and Spain represented to Aubrey Bell the last vestige of traditional values and a certain familiar order of things, already lost in the modern, developing world. This was, in all likelihood, responsible for Aubrey Bell's doubleness of vision: on the one hand, the author was determined to protest against the decline of the traditional organization of the society, but, on the other, he understood its replacement with the modern one as inevitable, and the process

of democratization, development and modernization of society through education as irreversible, for he wished the country to restore its former wealth, prosperity and greatness.

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